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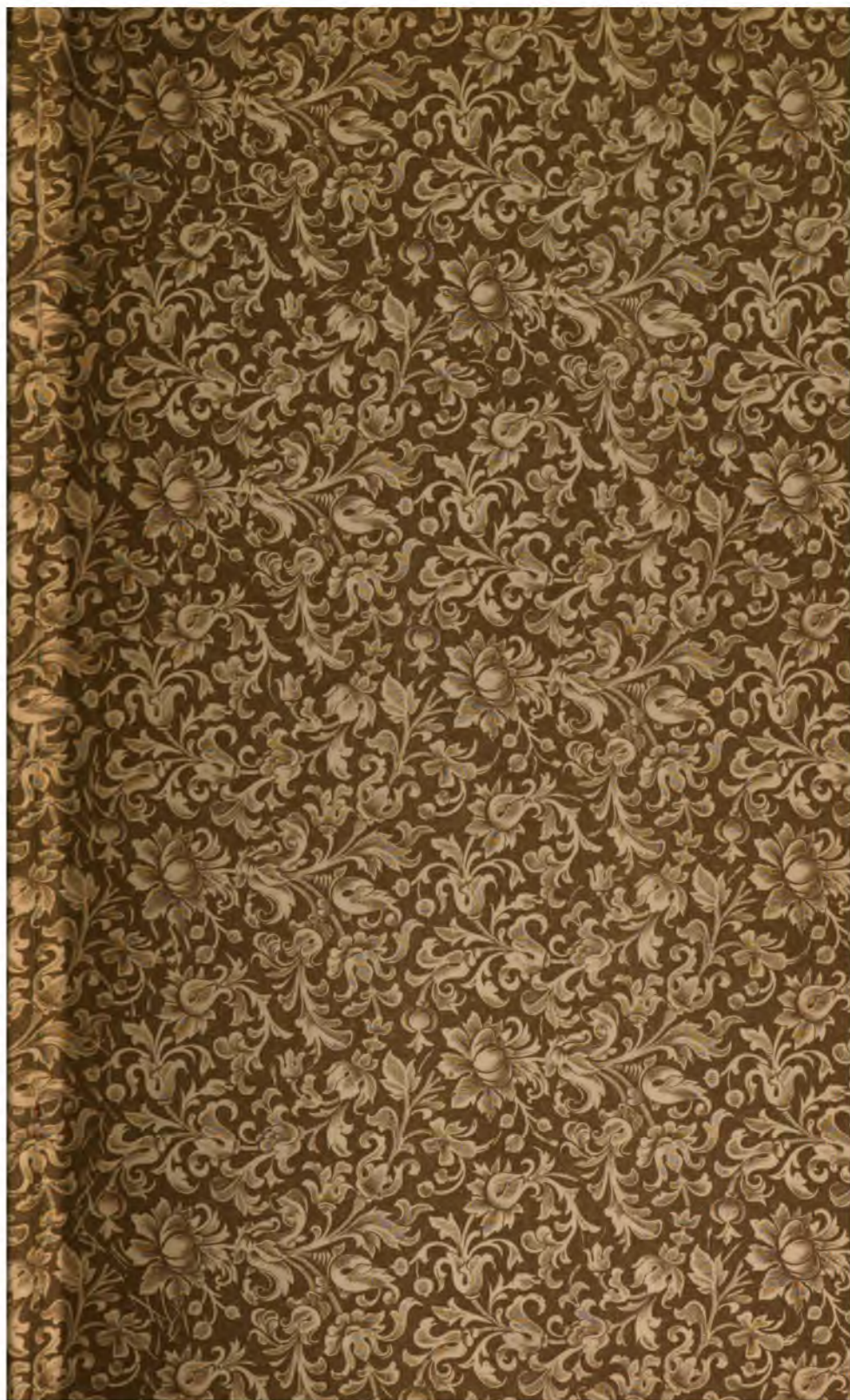
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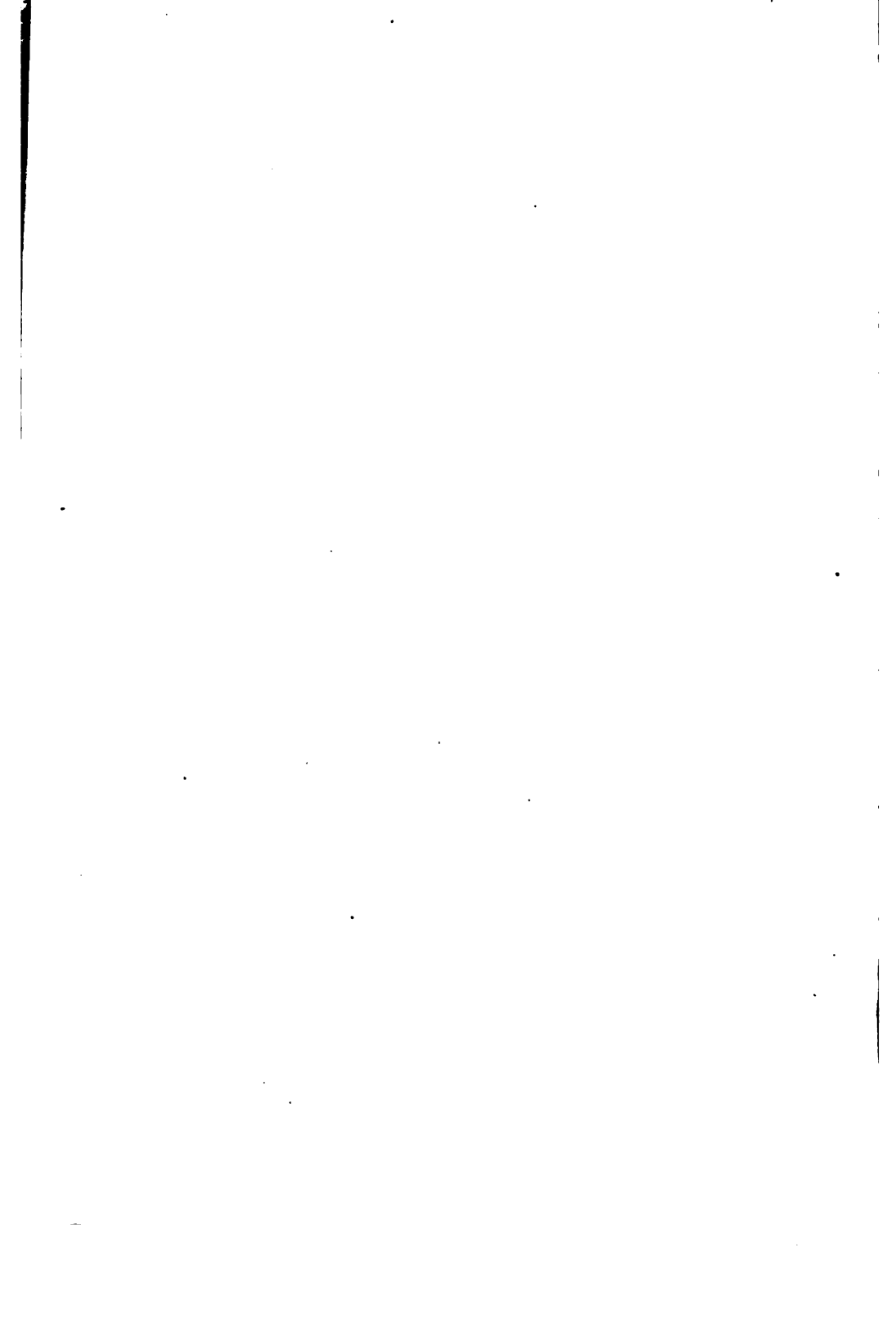
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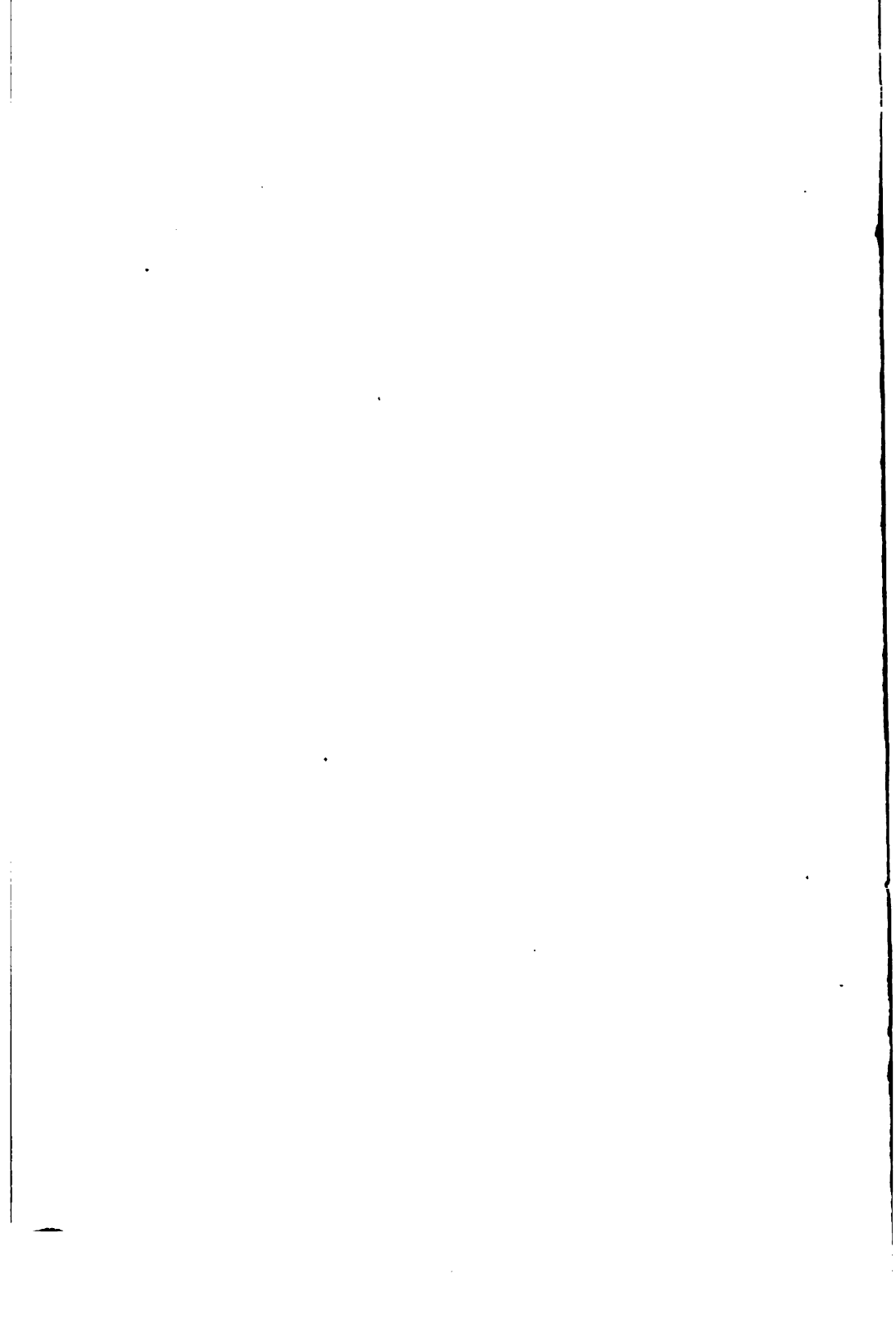
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INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE
MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES



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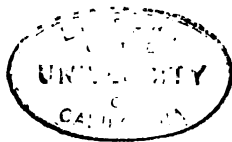
BY

LOUIS H. GRAY, A.M.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
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TO
MY FATHER
AND TO
THE MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER

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INTRODUCTION

THE united evidence of comparative linguistics, ethnography, and religion has established the doctrine of Indo-Iranian unity on a firm foundation, thereby affording a cardinal doctrine for the comparative study of Sanskrit, Avestan, and Old Persian. The work of Wackernagel and of Bartholomae, based upon this principle, has given the older dialects of the Indo-Iranian their due. But, on the other hand, the phonology of the Middle and New periods of this group has not thus far received the attention which it deserves, and it is in an attempt to supply the deficiency that this volume has been written. It aims to prove that the later Indo-Iranian dialects are still closely akin, and have had in many instances analogous developments, which are legitimate evolutions of processes acknowledged in the oldest Indo-Germanic languages of India and Iran.

A priori we should expect dialects derived from a common source to pursue similar courses of phonological development, as far as their surroundings, changing in course of time, permit. To deny this seems tantamount to attacking the entire principle of phonetic law on which comparative linguistics must rest. To affirm it is to give new strength to scientific research. The Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages show many developments in phonology which may be paralleled with entire justice. To such similarities I have sought to call attention, and I hope that the material which has been gathered may be of service to other linguistic students, and prove that the underlying principle of the book has its justification.

A paper of mine, entitled *Certain parallel Developments in Pāli*

and New Persian Phonology, read before the American Oriental Society at Cambridge, Mass., in April, 1899 (*JAOS.*, xx. 229-243), outlined the method which I have followed in this book. I advanced my views on the comparison of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects before the Society in the following words :

‘It is a well-known fact in linguistics that languages which are entirely without influence one on the other often show a striking similarity in their development. The Indo-Iranian group is especially instructive in this regard, for its time-limit extends from the period of Indo-Iranian unity to the present day, while its geographical area stretches from the Sinhalese in the south to the Mazandarāni in the north, and from the Kurdish in the west to the Bangālī in the east. Between the Indian and the Iranian divisions of the Aryan dialects a development may be traced which is frequently closely parallel. . . . Such a study, which it is my hope and intention to make, might be of service in the study of dialectic developments in general, and although confined to the Indo-Iranian dialects, it might by its implications be not altogether without bearing on the interests of the great body of the Indo-Germanic phonology.’

The result of the investigations which I there proposed to make has been, at least to me, a signal confirmation of my belief.

Mine is not the first attempt to parallel the phonological evolution of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The first Orientalist who, so far as I know, drew attention to the connexion between the two great modern dialect-groups was Reland. He wrote in his study *De linguis insularum orientalium* (‘Dissertationes miscellaneae,’ iii. 86, Traj. ad Rhenum, 1708), ‘Nonnullae voces [linguae singalaeae] cum Persicis conveniunt, uti *Aswajaa*, equus, اسپ *Asp*, *Rahasa*, arcanum, راز *Ras*, 𐭠𐭣𐭥 Chaldaeis, arcanum. *Bandinjai*, ligo, بند *Band*, *Dewijan*, Deus, Persa. دیو *Div*, Genius.’ (Cf. also Benfey, *Gesch. der Sprachwissensch.*, 241.) A very similar suggestion was made exactly a century later, when ‘en 1808 John Leyden fait du zend un dialecte praecrit, parallèle au pali, le pali étant identique au magadhi des grammairiens et le zend à leur

sauraseni. En 1819, Erskine fait du zend un dialecte sanscrit importé de l'Inde en Perse par le fondateur de Magisme, mais n'ayant jamais été parlé par les indigènes de Perse' (Darmesteter, *Le ZA.*, i. p. xxi, cf. *SBE.*, iv. 2, p. xxiii). In 1873 Trumpp in his *Grammar of the Paštō or Language of the Afghāns compared with the Īrānian and North-Indian Idioms* revived the view that the later Indo-Iranian dialects were closely connected linguistically, even though his work was vitiated by his false theory that Afyān is 'an old independent language, forming the first transition from the Indo-Ārian to the Īrānian family, and therefore partaking of the characteristics of both' (p. xii. Cf. the approving remarks of Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxxiv-xxxv, as contrasted with Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, p. lix). Finally, in 1898, Horn, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 85 Anm., compared the Iranian change of *r* to *ē* in Skt. *vr̥kṣa* 'tree,' Av. *varəša* : Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšak* with the Prākritic *geha* 'house' beside *gr̥ha* (see below, § 78). The same scholar also alludes to the mutations common to both dialect-groups of initial *y* to *j*, of intervocalic *k* to *g*, or its syncope, of the epenthesis of *-ary-* to *-ēr-*, and of the apparent substitution of *y* for intervocalic *d* and *g* (see below, §§ 331, 116, 128, 8, 256, 143). Geiger, *ibid.*, 208, notes that the occasional interchange of *l* and *n* in Afyān may be paralleled in Indian (see below, § 281). Against the view held by Geiger and Horn, Hübschmann has expressed himself emphatically (*IF. Ana.*, x. 23), but his objection seems to me scarcely valid.

The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects which I have considered may be classified as follows :

a. Indian. 1. Middle Indian or Prākrit. This group embraces Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākrit *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, with Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi (also called Āraṣa and Jaina Prākrit), and Śaurasēni, the principal Prākrit of the drama. These form the literary dialects called *bhāṣā* by Mārkaṇḍēya, while the lower Prākrits used in literature, Śākāri, Caṇḍālī, Śābarī, and others form Mārkaṇḍēya's *vibhāṣa* class. The other Middle Indian groups are Apabhraṁśa and Pāśāci. Apabhraṁśa denotes the Middle

Indian vernaculars as distinguished from the Prakrits or literary dialects of the period. Pāṣāṇī together with Cūlikāpāṣāṇī seems to have comprised the dialects of the north and west of India (Pischel, *Gramm. der Prakrit-Spr.*, §§ 1-30, cf. also Hoernle, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332; Grierson, *ibid.*, ci. 258-274). A somewhat peculiar position is held by the so-called Gāthā dialect of the Lalita-vistara, and by the Prakrit of the inscriptions (Pischel's 'Lēṇadialekt'). The Gāthā dialect is an artificial composition of Prakrit bases with Sanskrit inflections (Macdonell, *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, 25-26), while the Lēṇa dialect, a popular Middle Indian *lingua franca*, shows many Sanskritisms in its Prakrit (or Apabhraṃśa) structure (Pischel, § 7). As Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī became the sacred dialects of Jainism, so Pāli was the language of the southern Buddhist Church. From what district of India Pāli came is very uncertain. Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 90-91, very plausibly supposes that the country comprised by modern Gujarat was its home (for other views see E. Müller, *Pāli Gramm.*, viii-ix). The Middle Indian languages are not descendants of Sanskrit, but of the Vedic dialect and its neighbours. Buried for a time by the literary supremacy of Sanskrit, they emerged when the religious movements of Buddha and Mahāvira and the development of the drama gave them opportunity, and they then proved themselves worthy of cultivation in literature, both sacred and profane (Pischel, §§ 13-15).

2. New Indian. The New Indian dialects are derived from the Apabhraṃśas or folk-dialects of the Prakrits. Any attempt to trace rigidly Modern Indian dialects to specific Middle Indian predecessors is difficult with the sources now under our control. Pischel, § 5, derives Gujarātī, or Marwārī, from Śaurasēṇī-Apabhraṃśa, Marāṭhī from Māhārāṣṭrī-Apabhraṃśa, while Bihārī and Western Bangālī seem to come from Māgadhī-Apabhraṃśa through the Laṭ, or Pillar, dialect. The Indian basis of Sinhalese and Māladive is derived from a dialect closely akin to Pāli (Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 86-93). Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxiv-xxv, and *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332, Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i.

6-7, 33-34, and Grierson, *Seven Grammars . . . of the Bihārī Language*, pt. i, Calcutta, 1888, 3-7, should also be consulted.

I have discussed the New Indian dialects in the following order: Assamese, Nāipālī, Kāśmīrī, Uṛiyā, Bangālī, Bihārī, Hindī, Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Sinhalese and its older form Eḷu, Māladive, and Gypsey. There are numerous sub-dialects in all of them. The most comprehensive classification of these languages is in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India, First, Rough List*, Calcutta, 1898. Here, for instance, sixty-four sub-dialects of Gujarātī are given with their districts and the number of persons speaking them; Bangālī has sixteen varieties of vernacular, and Western Hindī fifty-two. For further information see Cust, *Modern Languages of the East Indies*, London, 1878, 35-64, 158-161; Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i. 96-107; Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 88-89.

Language maps of India should also be consulted, such as those given in Hoernle's *Comp. Gramm.*, and his edition of the *Prākṛta-Lakṣaṇa*, Calcutta, 1880; Beames's *Outlines of Indian Philology*, London, 1868; Grierson's *Seven Gramm. of Bihārī*, i; Cust's *Mod. Lang. of the East Ind.*; Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Westminster, 1893, plate 10, and others.

b. Iranian. 1. Middle Iranian. The sole surviving representative of Middle Iranian is Middle Persian, or Pahlavī, which is closely related to Old Persian (Salemman, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 225-226).

2. New Iranian. New Iranian dialects are exceedingly numerous. They are divided as follows: New Persian and the dialects of the Pāmīr, Caspian, and Central districts, Afyān, Balūčī, Kurdish, and Ossetish. The Pāmīr dialects include Wāxī, Šīynī, Sariqolī, Rōšānī, Tājīkī, Sanglicī, Minjānī or Mungī, Yidyah, and Yaynōbī (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, i. b. 290-291). Caspian dialects are Samnānī, Māzandarānī, Lahjānī, Gilakī, Tālīšī, and Tāt (Geiger, 346-348). The Central dialects embrace Gabrī, Šīrāzī, Bahbahānī, Sīvendī, Yazdī, Zafrahī, Kašahī, Vōnišūnī, Kuhrudī, Nayīnī, Natanzī, and Kāšānī (Geiger, 381-383). The Afyān

dialects are the Northern and Southern, which do not differ materially from each other (Geiger, 203 ; Darmesteter, *Chants pop.*, p. iv). Balūci, the most primitive of all the New Iranian dialects, has two divisions, Northern and Southern (or Makrāni), which diverge considerably. The greater portion of Balūci literature is in the Northern vernacular, but the Makrāni is the more primitive speech. North Balūci is divided into Layāri in the North and Marri in the South, while Southern Balūci comprises Eastern and Western sub-dialects (Geiger, 232). The chief divisions of Kurdish are Lūri, Kirmānšāhi, Gūrāni, Mukri, and Zaza (Socin, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 249-252, cf. Justi, *Kurd. Gramm.*, pp. xix-xxvii). The sub-groups of the Ossetish are Tagaurish or Irish, Ironish, in the (North-) East, Digorish or Dugorish, in the (North-) West, and Tualish in the South. Tagaurish, of which Tualish is merely a sub-dialect, is by far the most important Ossetish vernacular (Hübschmann, *Etymol. und Lautl. der oss. Spr.*, 11-12). The admirable summary of New Iranian by Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 417-423, and his language chart, *ibid.*, 421, should be consulted in this connexion. Recent bibliography on Middle and New Indo-Iranian may be gathered from Scherman's *Orientalische Bibliographie*, and older literature is collected by Pott, *Techmer's Zeitschrift*, ii. 109-115, 209-213, 230-234, 241-248.

I have intentionally refrained throughout my work from foot-notes and references to my sources, which would have unduly increased the size of the book. I have endeavoured, however, to work through the principal literature on my subject, and to be as complete as possible. For the Prākṛit I had to rely mainly on Hēmacandra (ed. Pischel, Halle, 1877-1880), Vararuci (ed. Cowell², London, 1868), and the Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa (ed. Hoernle, Calcutta, 1880). Lassen's *Institutiones linguae praepraeiticae*, Bonn, 1837 ; Hoerne, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvii. 1-48, also furnished hints. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, did not appear until after my manuscript was in the printer's hands. I have used it, nevertheless,

in correcting my proof, although sometimes, for typographical reasons, errors in the Prakrit, arising from too close adherence on my part to the native grammarians, could be checked only by a reference to Pischel (e.g. §§ 25, 57, 121, 184, etc.). For Ardhamāgadhi I relied mainly on E. Müller's *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprakrit*, Berlin, 1876; for Māhārāṣṭri on Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, Leipzig, 1886, and for the 'Gāthā dialect' on E. Müller, *KB.*, viii. 257-292, and Lefmann, *ZDMG.*, xxix. 212-234. The material on the Lēṇa dialect is drawn from Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, Paris, 1881-1886. I used for Pāli the grammars of E. Müller (London, 1884), Frankfurter (London, 1883), Minayeff (tr. Guyard, Paris, 1874); Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, Berlin, 1876, and articles by Mitra, *JRASBe.*, xxiii. 604-614, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 275-313.

For the New Indian I had, of course, the excellent, though somewhat antiquated, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, by Beames, London, 1872-1879; Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, London, 1880, and articles by Grierson, *ZDMG.*, xlix. 393-421, l. 1-42; *Calcutta Rev.*, ci. 258-274, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 314-345, xvii. 99-182. Among my sources for individual New Indian dialects I may mention particularly Grierson's *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihārī Language*, Part I, Calcutta, 1883, and his papers on Kāśmīrī phonology, *JRASBe.*, lxxv. 280-305, lxxvi. 180-184; Kellogg, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, Allahabad, 1876; Trumpp, *Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, London, 1872 (cf. *ZDMG.*, xv. 690-752); and the articles on Sinhalese by Kuhn, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.philol. Cl.*, 1879, 399-434 (tr. D. Fergusson, *IA.*, xiii. 53-65); E. Müller, *IA.*, xi. 198-220, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xxi. 177-273. The latter scholar's *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, Strassburg, 1901, and *Māldivische Studien*, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.philol. Cl.*, 1900, 641-684, *ZDMG.*, lv. 371-387, came in time to correct the final proof. My source for Gypsy phonology, a group of dialects to which I have referred but rarely,

is the study by Miklosich in the *Denkschriften der W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xxx.

The Iranian material is far less scattered. For Pahlavi I relied mainly on the *Manuel de Pehlevi* of de Harlez, Paris, 1880; Spiegel's *Grammatik der Huxvâresch-Sprache*, Vienna, 1856; the edition of the Frahang-i Oim and the Sassanian Frahang ('Old Zand-Pahlavi' and 'Old Pahlavi-Pazand' glossaries) by Hoshangji and Haug, Bombay and London, 1867-1870 (see the excellent new edition by Reichelt, *WZKM.*, xiv. 177-213, xv. 117-156), and the edition of *The Book of Arda Viraf* by Haug and West, Bombay and London, 1872-1874. Salemann's *Mittelpersisch* in the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* came after the final proofs were read. This *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, edited by Geiger and Kuhn, Strassburg, 1895 to date, has been my main source for New Persian, the Pamir, Central, and Caspian dialects, Afyân, Balûcî, and Kurdish. It has been supplemented for New Persian material by Horn's *Neupersische Etymologie*, Strassburg, 1893, and Hübschmann's *Persische Studien*, Strassburg, 1895; for Afyân, by Trumpp's *Grammar of the Paştô*, London, 1873, Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, Paris, 1888-1890, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xx. 169-222; for Balûcî, by Geiger, *ibid.*, xix. 107-153, 399-464, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1889, 65-92; for Kurdish, by Justi's *Kurdische Grammatik*, St. Petersburg, 1880, and Fr. Müller's study on the Zaza dialect, *Sitzb. W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xlviii. 227-245. The Ossetish material is drawn from Hübschmann's *Etymologie und Lautlehre der ossetischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1887. I also consulted numerous other works and articles for minor points or without results.

I follow Brugmann's *Grundriss* for the Indian transcription and the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* for the Iranian, with a few additions and modifications, which follow. Indian : *m* instead of *ṃ*, *ś* instead of *ṣ*, and *ṣ* for *ṣ*, also *r*, *rh*, *l* for cerebral *r*, *rh*, and *l* (ḷ). In Middle and New Indian I write *e*, *o* before single consonants, but *e*, *o* before consonant-groups; for Sindhî I add, according to the system of Trumpp and the Royal Asiatic Society, *ġ*, *j̄*, *ā̄*, *ḃ*, 'uttered

with a certain stress in prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ, as if one tried to double the sound at the beginning of a word' (Trumpp, *Grammar*, 13); for Sinhalese, *ā*, *ā* have been added according to Geiger's usage, although I here transcribe his *ñ*, *ñ* by *m̃*. Iranian: I transpose the functions of *ē* and *e*, and of *j* and *j*, to harmonize with the Indian system, so that *e*, *j* denote palatals, and *ē*, *j̃* affricatae; for Afyān *q* I write *α*, in Balūci *i* instead of *ī*, in North Balūci *kh*, *ch*, *th*, *ph* instead of *k*, *ē*, *t*, *p*, and in Ossetish *a*, *i*, *e*, *ch*, *j*, *ē*, *ēh*, *j̃* instead of Hübschmann's *ā*, *ī*, *tš*, *thš*, *čš*, *ts*, *thš*, *čš*. Socin's Kurdish transcription is conformed to the regular Iranian system and compared throughout with Justi.

Numerous parallels between the phonological phenomena here noted and sound-changes in other Indo-Germanic dialects will at once be perceived. Thus the syncope of *g* discussed in § 147 may be compared with the same process in Attic *ἐγών*: Boeotian *ῥών*; Attic *ὀλγος*: Tarentine *ὀλος*; Latin *Iguvium*, Umbrian *Ikuvinus* beside later *Iiuvinnur* (cf. also § 148); Latin *rēgem*; Old French *rei*, Modern French *roi* (cf. Haag, *Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1869; Brandreth, *JRAS.*, NS. xi. 287-316, xii. 335-364). Limitations of space prevented me from referring to such parallel phenomena in dialects outside the Indo-Iranian. For the same reason I abstained from any extensive explanations by physiological phonetics of the sound-changes which I have recorded, and from all discussion of inflection or syntax.

Errors of detail, explanation, and example will undoubtedly be found in my Phonology, and I shall be grateful for all corrections and additions. If, however, my cardinal theorem holds good, I shall feel that the work has been not in vain. I trust that the book may serve, besides its main purpose, as a contribution towards comparative lexicography of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages, and with this object in view I have cited examples from as large a number of dialects as possible. Throughout my work I have sought to present facts rather than theories. My general conclusions in each chapter are summarized at its beginning (see

§§ 1, 113, 460), and every paragraph is introduced by the results of my study of the material contained in it. The deductions gained from the entire book may be summarized thus: the phonological tendencies discernible as early as in the Old Indian and Iranian period have developed steadily, each on its own line, in the Middle and New dialects, and through regular divergency, no less than through similarity of evolution, the tie of Indo-Iranian unity is potent still.

To Professor Hopkins of Yale my thanks are due for his courtesy in lending me from his private library certain works of importance which would otherwise have been inaccessible. I am indebted to the excellent reader of the Oxford University Press, who has contributed in no small degree by his care to the accuracy of the book. Especially do I wish to express my gratitude to my friend and teacher, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, who has grudged neither time nor toil in his generous assistance. My student-life with him for *guru* at Columbia University, where this book was written, will ever be a happy memory. Well said the Sanskrit poet :

*ekam apy akṣaram yas tu guruḥ śiṣyē niveḍayāt
prthivyām nāsti tad dravyam yad datvā sō 'nrṇi bhavāt.*

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ABBREVIATIONS

Afy.	= Afyān.	N.	= North.
Apab.	= Apabhraṃśa.	Nāip.	= Nāipālī.
Ardhamāg.	= Ardhamāgadhī.	Nat.	= Natanzī.
Ass.	= Assamese.	Nāy.	= Nāyīnī.
Av.	= Avesta.	nom. prop.	= nomen proprium.
Āvant.	= Āvantī.	O. H. Germ.	= Old High German.
Bahb.	= Bahbahānī.	Oss.	= Ossetish.
Bal.	= Balūcī.	Pāiá.	= Pāiśācī.
Bang.	= Bangālī.	Panj.	= Panjābī.
Bulg.	= Bulgarian.	Pāz.	= Pāzand.
Dig.	= Digorish.	Pers.	= Persian.
E.	= East.	Phl.	= Pahlavī.
Eng.	= English.	Prāk.	= Prākrit.
Gab.	= Gabrī.	Rōš.	= Rōšānī.
GAv.	= Gāōā-Avesta.	Śāk.	= Śākārī.
Gīl.	= Gīlakī.	Samn.	= Samnānī.
Gk.	= Greek.	Sangl.	= Sanglicī.
Guj.	= Gujarātī.	Sarq.	= Sariqolī.
Gyp.	= Gypsy.	Śāur.	= Śāurasēnī.
Ind.	= Indian.	Šiyn.	= Šiynī.
Kaf.	= Kafirī.	Simh.	= Simhalese.
Kāś.	= Kāśānī.	Šir.	= Širāzī.
Kāśm.	= Kāśmīrī.	Šiv.	= Šivēndī.
Kuhr.	= Kuhrudī.	Skt.	= Sanskrit.
Kurd.	= Kurdish.	Span.	= Spanish.
Lat.	= Latin.	Tag.	= Tagaurish.
lexicog.	= lexicographical.	Tāl.	= Tālīsh.
Lith.	= Lithuanian.	Uṛ.	= Uṛiyā.
Māg.	= Māgadhī.	Vōn.	= Vōnīšūnī.
Māhār.	= Māhārāṣṭrī.	W.	= West.
Mar.	= Marāṭhī.	Yāyn.	= Yāynōbī.
Mās.	= Māzandarānī.	YAv.	= Younger Avesta.
Med.	= Median.	Yidg.	= Yidgī.
Minj.	= Minjānī.	Zaf.	= Zafrahī.
Mult.	= Multānī.		

* = hypothetical forms.

> = becomes.

< = derived from.

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Orientalische Bibliographie.



LIFE

I, LOUIS HERBERT GRAY, was born April 10, 1875, at Newark, New Jersey, the only child of Thomas Jefferson and his wife, Anna Elizabeth (*née* Earl). My father is still living, but my mother died in September, 1899. My early education was received at home and at the Newark Academy, from which I graduated in 1892. Entering Princeton College the same year, I received the degree of A.B. in 1896, and remained there a year longer as Fellow in Classics, devoting special attention to Sanskrit and Avestan, in addition to Classical and Germanic linguistics. Feeling my interest drawn entirely to Oriental languages, I entered Columbia University in 1897, where I have remained three years. I was twice appointed Fellow in Indo-Iranian and I have pursued courses in Sanskrit, Pāli, Avestan, Old Persian, Pahlavi, New Persian, Armenian, Arabic, and Syriac. In 1898 I received from Columbia the degree of A.M. I am a member of the American and German Oriental Societies, and of the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists. I have published 'The Metres of Bhartṛihari,' *JAOS.*, xx. 157-159; 'Certain Parallel Developments in Pāli and New Persian Phonology,' *ibid.*, 229-243; 'Indo-Iranian Studies, i,' *AJPh.*, xxi. 1-22; 'Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Conditional Sentence,' *Ann. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, xii. 549-588; 'Zur indogermanischen Syntax von **nāman*,' *IF.*, xi. 307-313; 'The Indo-Iranian Deity Apam Napāt,' *Arch. f. Religionsw.*, iii. 18-51; and 'Classical Passages mentioning Zoroaster's Name,' which forms the fifth Appendix of Jackson's *Zoroaster*, pp. 226-273 (New York, 1899). I am also one of the regular contributors to the *Orientalische Bibliographie*. Of my teachers my special thanks are due to Professors E. Y. Robbins and J. P. Hoskins, of Princeton, and at Columbia to Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, and Mr. Yohannan, and most of all to Professor A. V. Williams Jackson.





INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

§ 1. The vowels of the Indo-Iranian period have remained in general unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. But beside the many instances of preservation of an original vowel, there are numerous examples of changes either in quantity or in quality, or in both. The most striking mutations will be found in the cases of original *a* and *r*. The reasons why these two vowels are especially liable to change are not far to seek. Indo-Iranian *a* = Indo-Germanic *a*, *e*, *o*, *ā* is the most simple of all the vowels. It represents, moreover, the so-called 'natural vowel,' the basis of all articulate sounds, which lies midway between *a* and *o* (Sievers, *Phonetik*⁴, § 209). It is thus self-evident that the Indo-Iranian *a* is particularly liable to change. The changes in question are ordinarily due to the influence of surrounding consonants. Labials often colour *a* to *u*, and sibilants colour *a* to *i*. From such a change of *a* to *u*, *i*, a further development to *ō*, *ē*, or to *ū*, *ī* may take place.

Turning to *r*, it is well known that of all the Indo-Germanic languages only the Old Indian and the Avesta have preserved Indo-Germanic *r* unchanged (Old Indian keeping also Indo-Germanic *ṛ*, *ḷ*). Even the Old Indian has lost Indo-Germanic *ṝ*, *ṛ̃*, *ṛ̂*, and the Avesta has lost these sounds with Indo-Germanic *ṝ*, *ṛ̃* in addition. In the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects we find a continuation of the process already begun in the older period by which the sonant liquids and nasals lost their original values, and became coloured by the surrounding consonants. Thus Old Indian

r, Avesta *ərə*, became *ar*, *a*, *ra*, *ir*, *i*, *ri*, and the like in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

The changes of the other vowels from their values in the Indo-Iranian period are not without analogy to the changes of *a* and *r*, although they are more sporadic. Labials frequently colour *i* to *u* as sibilants colour *u* to *i*. The change of *i*, *u* to *a* seems to be due to a weakening of the old value of *i*, *u* to *a*.

The long vowels are subject to changes which are, generally speaking, analogous to those of the corresponding short vowels. Before two or more consonants all vowels, including also the Old Indian diphthongs, are to be considered short in the Middle and New Indian dialects. On the other hand, the simplification of a consonant-group is normally attended, in both the Indian and the Iranian dialects of the Middle and New periods, by the lengthening of a preceding short vowel.

The following paragraphs will contain more precise statements upon these several points in their proper places.

$$a = a.$$

§ 2. Indo-Iranian *a* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bharati* 'bears,' Prāk. *bharat*, Pāli *bharati*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāsm. *papi*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindi *pākal*, Hindi, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhi *pakō*, Guj. \sqrt{pak} , \sqrt{pik} 'ripen,' Mar. *pik*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pakō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baraiti* 'bears,' Old Pers. *barati*, Phl. *baraṭ*, New Pers. *barad*, Gab. *bartmūn*, Kāš. *bartan*, Māz. *bavardan*, Gil. *bardan*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxi *yaš*, Minj. *yas(a)p*, Afy. *aspā* (fem.), Bal. (*h*)*āps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*.

$$a > i.$$

§ 3. This change is not infrequent, either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 1, the change of

a to *i* is due in many cases to the influence of a neighbouring sibilant.

a. Indian. In the Indian dialects *a* is changed to *i* more commonly in the West than in the East, so that the Sindhi shows the greatest number of examples of this phenomenon. The fondness of the Middle Indian dialects for the change was, on the whole, greater than that which is now shown by the New Indian.

Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Guj. *√pak*, *√pik*, Mar. *pik*, *pikā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *argāra* 'coal,' Prāk., Jaina Prāk. *ingāla*, Guj. *ingār*, *ingōl*, Mar. *ingāl*, *ingōl*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' *yatra* 'where,' Apab. Prāk. *jidhā*, *jetihu*, *jathu*, Pali *yattihā*, *yatra*, Sindhi *jiti*. Skt. *dyūtakara* 'gambler,' Śak. and Māg. Prāk. *jūḍiala*. Skt. *tamasa* 'darkness,' Prāk. *tama*, Pali *timisa*. Skt. *pañjara* 'cage,' Māg. Prāk. *pañjalaa*, Pali *pañjara*, Ur. *pinjira*, Hindi *pinjar*, Sindhi *piñir*. Skt. *kṣamā*, 'patience,' Prāk., Pali *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Hindi *chimā*, *chamā*, Panj. *khimā*, Sindhi *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Ur., Bang., Hindi *bakarā*, Panj. *bakkarā*, Sindhi *bakirō*, Guj. *bakarō*, Mar. *bōkar*, Gyp. *bakro*. Skt. **prathara* 'first,' Hindi *pahalā*, *pahil*, Panj. *pahil*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, Sindhi *paharyōm*, *pahir(y)ōm*. Skt. *prahara* 'watch,' Prāk. *pahara*, Panj. *pahir*, other New Ind. dialects *pakar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ataš*, New Pers. (ā)*taš*, *ātiš*, Šiy. *yaē*, Sarq. *yūē*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*. Av. *yākarə* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *ḡayar*, Kurd. *jark*, Dig. Oss. *igar*. Av. *sata* 'hundred,' New Pers. *sad*, Afy. *sal*, *sil*, Kurd. *sad*, Oss. *sada*. Av. *pairi* 'around,' Old Pers. *pariy*, Phl., New Pers. *par*, Bal. *pir* (cf. Sinh. *piri*). Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *san*, Šiy. *yin*, Sarq. *yin*, *šin*, Minj. *šinga*, Gab. *jan*, Kuhr. *šan*, *jin*, Zaf. *šan*, Afy. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *šan*, *šin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, archaic New Pers. *hān*, Oss. *inna*.

a > u.

§ 4. The change of *a* to *u* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is a very frequent one. It has been noted in § 1 that a labial often colours an original *a* to *u*.

a. Indian. As the change of *a* to *i* is more common in the western Indian dialects than in the eastern (see § 3, a), so the change of *a* to *u* is more frequent in the eastern dialects of India than in the western, and as *a* becomes *i* in Sindhi, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, so *a* becomes *u* most often of all in Uṛīya and Bangālī.

Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paṭhuma*, *puḍhuma*, *puḍhama*, *paḍhama*, Pali *paṭhama*. Skt. *pyṭhaktva* 'peculiarity,' Jaina Prāk. *puhutta*. Skt. *manuṣa* 'man,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *munisa*, *manusa*. Skt. *pañcaviṃśati* 'twenty-five,' Pali *paññuvisati*. Skt. *karkaṭika* 'cucumber,' Uṛ. *kāṁkuri*, Bang. *kāṁkur*, Hindi *kakarī*. Skt. *mudgara* 'club,' Prāk., Pali *moggara*, Uṛ. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugur*, Hindi *māgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhi *muḥirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *aṅgulikā* 'finger,' Apab. Prāk. *aṅguliu*, Pali *aṅgulikā*, Naip. *aumlō*, Bihārī *aṅguri*, Hindi *uṅgalī*, *aṅguli*, Panj. *uṅguli*. Skt., Pali *dhanu* 'bow,' Sinh. *dunu*. Skt. *manōrama* 'delightful,' Sinh. **manurama-ka* > *manumaraka* 'grandson,' New Sinh. *munuburā*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pali *samudda*, Sinh. **hamuda* > **mahuda* > *muhuda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vanā* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Kāš. *bana*, Afy. *vana*, Bal. *gvan*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Phl. *xʷatāi* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiy., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šavad*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šubā*, Kurd. *čan*, Oss. *catūn*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxi *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiy. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *sašōr*, Afy. *čālor*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Wāxi *pus*, Afy. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *pas*, Dig. Oss. *fus*, Tag. *fis*. Av. *√xʷan* 'call,' Phl.

x^oanjanō, New Pers. *x^oāndan*, Wāxi *kādam*, Šiy. *šādam*, Sarq. *šādam*, Bal. *vānag*, N. Bal. *vānaγ*, Kurd. *x^oāndin*, *xūndin*, Oss. *xund*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, *tišnak(ih)*, New Pers. *tiš*, Šiy. *tašna(gi)*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Gab. *tašna*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūmag*.

a > ā.

§ 5. The change of *a* to *ā* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the great majority of instances to compensatory lengthening, as noted in § 1. Sporadic cases of inorganic lengthening of an original *a* are not infrequent.

a. Indian. In the New Indian dialects Bangālī prefers the long vowel by compensatory lengthening before a simplified consonant-group, while Panjābī and Sindhī show short vowels, the Panjābī having a repeated consonant and the Sindhī a single one. Hindī stands midway between the two extremes in this regard. The Braj dialect of Hindī is especially fond of changing *a* to *ā*, and it is followed here by its sister dialects, the Mār-wārī, Māiwārī, and Kanāujī. In Marāṭhī the root-vowel of the infinitive is frequently lengthened.

Skt. *saṃriddhi* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *sāmidhhi*, Pāli *samiddhi*. Skt. *sarṣapa* 'mustard,' Jaina Prāk. *sāsava*, Pāli *sāsapa*. Skt. *sparśana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*. Skt. *pradakṣiṇa* 'pertaining to the right hand,' Gāthā *prādakṣiṇa*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Nāip. *pāk*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, etc. (see § 2). Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bācru* (pron. *bāsrū*), Kāśm. *vūč*, Uṛ. *bāchurī*, Bang. *vācchā*, *bāccā*, E. Hindī *bāch*, Hindī *bacharā*, *bacharā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *bācō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrēm*, *vāsrūm*. Skt. *khaṭvā* 'bedstead,' Prāk. *khaṭṭā*, Uṛ. *khāṭā*, Bang. *khāṭ(alā)*, Hindī *khāṭ*, Panj. *khaṭṭ*, Sindhī *khaṭ*, Guj., Mar. *khāṭ*. Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Uṛ. *kachima*, Bang. *kāchima*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kachūm*. Skt. *calana* 'course,' Uṛ. *cālibā*, Braj *cālanām*, Hindī *calanā*, Mar. *cālaṇēm*. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Uṛ., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sām̐c*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,'

Prāk., Pālī *nagga*, Ur. *namgalā*, Bang. *nēmā*, Hindī *namgā*, E. Panj. *namgā*, W. Panj. *nāmā*, Sindhī *namgō*, Guj. *nāgum*, Mar. *namgā*, *naggā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāzun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Skt. *parut* 'last year,' New Pers. *pār*, Wāxi *pard*, Sarq. *parrus*, Afy. *parōs*, Bal. *pārī*, N. Bal. *phārī*, Dig. Oss. *fara*, Tag. *faron*. Av. *hasaxōra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hasār*, Wāxi *hasūr*, Sarq. *hasōr*, Afy. *sar*, Kurd. *hasār*. Av. *tqōra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl. *varf*, Afy. *vāvra*. Av. *marōta* 'man,' Old Pers. *martiya*, Phl. *marī*, New Pers. *mard*, Gab. *mārd*, Siv. *mīrd*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mir*, *mēr*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Wāxi, Sang. *lav*, Gab. *lāv*. Av. *sarōta* 'cold,' Phl. *sarī*, New Pers. *sard*, Wāxi *sur(i)*, Gab. *sarī*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Bal. (*h*)*āps*, etc. (see § 2). Av. *pašcaṭ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl. *pas(in)*, New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Kāš. *pac*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pašva*, *pāšī*, Dig. Oss. *fastaga*, Tag. *fastag*. Skt. *svāsrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusrū*, *xusū*, Wāxi, Šiy. *xas*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afy. *x^oāsa*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassu*, *xasrū*.

a > ī.

§ 6. This change is a very rare one.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sarq. *γīn*, *īin*, etc. (see § 3).

a > ū.

§ 7. This change is closely akin to the one described in the preceding paragraph.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Kāśm. *vūṣ*, etc. (see § 5).

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Afy. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, etc. (see § 4). Av. *maidyaṇa* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxi *malung*,

Šiy. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḥ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afy. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*. New Pera. *namak* 'salt,' Šiy. Šir. *nīmīk*.

$a > \check{e}$.

§ 8. This change is of comparatively rare occurrence. It is due very frequently to the palatalizing influence of a neighbouring *y*.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before single consonants: before a consonant-group it is to be considered short. Of the New Indian dialects Panjābī and Gujarātī show the greatest number of examples of the change of *a* to \check{e} . The intermediate step of the change from *a* to \check{e} is shown by the change of *a* to *ā* in Siṁhalese, or by the Marāṭhī *āi* developed from Indian *a* (the reverse of the Panjābī change of Old Indian *āi* to *a*).

Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, *accharia*, *acchaara*, *accharijja*, Pāli *accharia*, *acchēra*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *acaraj*. Skt. *śayyā* 'bed,' Prāk. *sejjā*, Pāli *seyyā*, Hindi *sēj*, Mar. *šēj*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kāśm. *truvāh*, Uṛ., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindi *tērah*, W. Hindi *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhi *tēraham*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Siṁh. *teles*. Skt. *phalgu* 'empty,' Pāli *pheggu*. Skt. *sandhi* 'burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kāśm. *san*, Uṛ., Bang. *sindh*, E. Hindi *sēnh*, Hindi *sēndh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhi *sēndhi*, Mult. *sandh*. Skt. *lahari* 'wave,' Hindi *lahar*, Panj. *lahir*, Guj. *lēhēr*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Hindi, Panj. *bahirā*, Guj. *bēhēr*, Siṁh. *bihira*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Pāli *kavāṭa*, Uṛ., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Bihār. *kēvār(ā)*, Hindi, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*.

Skt. *aṣṭi* 'eight,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kāśm., Uṛ., Bihārī, Hindi *aṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhi *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *aṭh*, Siṁh. *āṭa*. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj*, Kāśm. *manz*, Uṛ. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindi *majhi*, *māmjh*, *manjh*, Panj. *māmjh*, *majjh*, Sindhi *māmjihi*, Mar. *mājh*, Siṁh. *māda*, inscriptions *mānda*. Skt., Prāk. *jana* 'person,' Siṁh. *dena*, *dana*.

Skt. *vaṣṭana* 'egg-plant,' Uṛ. *bāigu*, Bang. *bēgun*, Hindi

bāingan, Panj. *bāinam*, Mar. *bāingan*. Skt. *saptacatvarimśat* 'forty-seven,' Kāśm. *satatājih*, Uṛ. *satcālīśa*, Bang. *śatcālīś*, Bihār., Hindi *sāimtālīs*, Panj. *saṁtālī*, Sindhi *satetālīh*, Guj. *sūdtālīs*, Mar. *sattēcālīs*.

b. Iranian. The change of Indo-Iranian *a* to *ē* is very rare in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Kurdish. In the Zaza dialect of the Kurdish the Iranian *a* is often pronounced *āi*.

Samn. *dū* verbal prefix, Māz. *da*, Gil. *da*, *dū*, *dī*, Afy. *da*, Kurd. *dē*, *da*, Oss. *d-*. Av. *√karāš* 'drag,' Phl. *kaštanō*, Afy. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kēšān*, *kišān*. Old Pers. *martiya* 'man,' Kurd. *mir*, *mēr*, etc. (see § 5). Av. *xšvašti* 'sixty,' New Pers. *šašt*, *šast*, Afy. *špēta*, Kurd. *šašt*. Av. *taršti* 'flight,' Afy. *tēšta*. Av. *xʷanhar* 'sister,' Phl., New Pers. *xʷāhar*. Wāxi *xʷui*, Sarq. *yaxi*, Sangl. *ixʷa*, Minj. *yaxʷa*, Afy. *xōr*, Bal. *gvahār*, Kurd. *xōh*, *xūha*, Zaza *vai*, Oss. *xora*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxi *hāθ*, *hat*, Šiy. *vašt*, Sarq. *vozt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *uvs*, Afy. *ata*, Zaza *haišt*, Oss. *asth*.

a > *ō*.

§ 9. This change, like the preceding one, is not of frequent occurrence either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. It is well known that the common pronunciation of an original *a* approaches *ō* in Assamese, Uṛiya, and Bangālī. The change of *a* to *o* is most common in Uṛiya and Bangālī, and in Sinhalese it often occurs near *l* developed from a cerebral or dental.

Skt. *badura* 'jujube tree,' Prāk. *vōra*, Pāli *badara*, Uṛ. *bara* (pron. *bōrō*), Bang. *baṛ*, Hindī, Panj. *bāir*, *bēr*, Sindhi *bēru*, *bēri*, Guj., Mar. *bōr*. Skt. *sammarṣa* 'confusion,' Pāli *sammōsa*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Mar. *bōkar*, etc. (see § 3). Skt. *śmaśru* 'moustache,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṁsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihār. *mōmch*, Hindī *mūch*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhi *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *cakṣu* 'eye,' Prāk., Pāli *cakkhu*, Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*. Skt. *caṅcu* 'beak,' Bang. *cōmṭha*, Hindī, Mar.

cōinc. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ekādasa*, Kāśm. *kāh*, Uṛ., Bang. *ēgāra*, E. Hindī *ēgyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giāram*, Sindhi *ikāraham*, *yāraham*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*. Skt. *pr̥th(i)vi* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavi*, *puha(v)i*, Pāli *paṭhavi*, *pathavi*, Old Hindī *puhumi*, Sinh. *polava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maðu* 'mead,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Kurd. *mōt*, Oss. *mud*, *mið*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāś. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Wāxi *pānz*, Šiy., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *pānz*, Minj. *panc*, Yidg. *pānš*, Samn. *punj*, Afy. *pinja*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*, Oss. *fonj*. Skt. *√dam* 'tame,' New Pers. *dām* 'domestic animal,' Oss. *domun* 'to tame.'

a > au.

§ 10. This change is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakṣu* 'eye,' Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*, etc. (see preceding §, a).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacata* 'cooked,' Phl. *puxtānō*, New Pers. *puxtān*, Wāxi *pōcam*, Gab. *paxtmūn*, Kāś. *patēn*, Māz. *paxta*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phaṣay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Zaza *paujana*, Oss. *fičun*.

Aphaeresis of a.

§ 11. The loss of an initial *a* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Aphaeresis of *a* in the Indian dialects is especially frequent when the initial vowel is unaccented and is followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *alanākāra* 'adornment,' Prāk. *alamkāra*, *alamkia*, Pāli *lamkāra*, Eḷu *lakara*. Skt. *adhas* 'below,' Prāk. *heṭṭha*, Pāli *heṭṭhā*, Uṛ., Bang. *heṭha*, Sindhi *heṭhē*, Guj. *heṭhē*, Mar. *heṭ*. Skt. *avatrāṇa* 'rescue,' Uṛ. *bacāibā*, Bang. *bācām*, Hindī *bacāinā*, Mar. *vacāviṇēm*. Skt. *aranya* 'forest,' Mahār. Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Śaur. Prāk. *araṇṇa*, Pāli *arañña*, Old Hindī *raṇj*, Hindī *ran*,

Sindhi *riñ*, *riṇu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, Sinh. *raṇa*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Sinh. *māti*. Skt., Pāli *ataṣṭi* 'linseed,' Kāśm. *aliś*, Uṛ. *tēṣṭ*, Bang. *tiṣṭ*, Hindi *tisṭ*, *alsṭ*. Skt. *asōka* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *asōa*, Pāli *asōka*, Sinh. *hō*. Skt. *anurāga* 'love,' Prāk. *aṇurāa*, Sinh. *nurā*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Sinh. *vala*.

b. Iranian. In New Persian it is a law that initial *a* before a single consonant is dropped.

Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angusht*, Wāxi *yangl*, Šiy. *angašt*, Sarq. *ungaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Sīv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*, cf. also New Pers. *anguštar* 'ring,' Kurd. *gustir*. Av. *asənga* 'stone,' Old Pers. *aθagaina*, Phl., New Pers. *sang*. Av., Old Pers. *asda* 'knowledge,' Afy. *zda*. Av. *apəs* 'open,' Phl. *apāc*, *apāj*, Pāz. *awāš*, *awās*, New Pers. *bās*, Wāxi *vās*, Sarq. *vūs*, Bal. *pac*, Kurd. *vāš*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' Pāz. *ēmā*, New Pers. *mā*, Oss. *max*. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *burnā*, *barnā*, Afy. *vör*. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Māz. *samā*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ašmān*.

Syncope of a.

§ 12. The syncope of internal *a* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is quite rare in the New Indian dialects, and it is rarer still in the Middle Indian period. Entire syncope of an original *a* is often preceded by the weakening of *a* to the so-called 'neutral vowel' *ə*, in case *a* is unaccented but is preceded or followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *pūgaphala* 'areca-nut,' Prāk. *popphala* < **pūgphala*, Guj. *pōphal*, Mar. *pōphal*. Skt. *jāgarati* 'watches,' Prāk. *jaggat*, Pāli *jaggati*, Uṛ. *jāganā*, Bang. *jāgitz*, Sindhi *jāgaṇu*, Guj. *jāgarum*, Mar. *jāganēm*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dubla*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dubar*, Hindi *dubla*, Sindhi *ḍubirō*, *ṛabalō*, Guj.

dubal(a), Mar. *dubał*. Skt. *cāmara* ‘fly-whisk,’ Prāk., Pali *cāmara*, Bang. *camrā*, Hindi *cāmirī*, Mar. *cāmar*, *cāurī*, Anglo-Ind. *choury*.

b. Iranian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

Av. *yazatanqm* ‘of the angels,’ Phl. *yaztān*, *yazdān*, New Pers. *yazdān* ‘God.’ Av. *paθana* ‘broad,’ Phl. *pahn(ā)*, Afy. *plān*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *axšaēna* ‘blue,’ Phl., New Pers. *xašin*, Afy. *šin* but fem. *šna*, Kurd. (*ha*)*šin*, Oss. *axsinag*. Av. *nəmah* ‘homage,’ Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namās*, Afy. *nmunj*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nimī(š)*, *namāš*, *namēš*. Av. *visaiti* ‘twenty,’ Phl. *višt*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vištā*, *vis(sā)*, Afy. *višt*, Bal. *gist*.

Apocope of *a*.

§ 13. The apocope of Indo-Iranian *a* is a very frequent phenomenon in the New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The Middle Indian dialects retain the final *a* unchanged. In the New Indian the final *a* of the Old and Middle Indian dialects is dropped unless it bears the accent. If final *a* is accented it is lengthened in Hindi. In Ur. and Bang. on the other hand final *a* is often pronounced.

Skt. *mudgara* ‘club,’ Prāk., Pali *moggara*, Ur. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugura*, Hindi *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhi *muñirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *satya* ‘true,’ Prāk., Pali *sacca*, Ur., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāmc*, Hindi *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhi *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *trayōdasa* ‘thirteen,’ Prāk. *tēraha*, Pali *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kāsm. *truvāh*, Ur., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindi *tērah*, W. Hindi *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhi *tērahām*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Simh. *teles*.

b. Iranian. The Middle Iranian dialects, unlike the Middle Indian, do not retain original final *a*. The New Iranian dialects follow the Middle Iranian in this regard, but the Digaurian Ossetian often retains the final *a* unchanged.

Av. *darəya* ‘long,’ Old Pers. *darga*, Phl. *darg*, Afy. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*. Old Pers. *tigra* ‘sharp,’ Phl. *tēj*, Pāz. *tēš*,

New Pers. *tēs*, Wāxi *tis*, Sarq. *tātē*, Kurd. *tīš(i)*. Av. *sarəda* 'year,' Phl. New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum* 'tenth,' New Pers. *dah* 'ten,' Wāxi *das*, *las*, Šiy. *dis*, *lis*, Sarq. *das*, Sangl. *das*, Afy. *las*, Oss. *das*.

Prothesis of a.

§ 14. Prothesis of *a* is not found in the Middle period either of the Indian or of the Iranian dialects. In New Indian the colloquial Hindī prefixes *a* to words beginning with a consonant-group whose first member is *s*. In the New Persian prothesis is one of the most common phenomena, since in that language no word may begin with a consonant-group. Prothesis of *a* is also quite common in Balūči.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' colloquial Hindī *asnān*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' colloquial Hindī *asthān*. Skt. *stri* 'woman,' colloquial Hindī *astri* or *istri* (see below, § 36).

This prothesis is also found in foreign loan-words, such as Eng. *school*, colloquial Hindī *askūl*, *iskūl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *brətaš* 'brow,' Phl. *brā*, New Pers. *abrū*, Wāxi *varao*, Šiy. *vrūy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Gab. *burā*, Afy. *vrūja*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burā*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *stərə* 'star,' Phl. *starak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Afy. *stōrai*, Bal. *astār*, *istār*, Kurd. *istirk*, Oss. *stali*. Av., Old Pers. *brātār* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, New Pers. *birādar*, Wāxi *vrūt*, Šiy. *vrod*, *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Afy. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*.

a = ā.

§ 15. Indo-Iranian *ā* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects of all periods.

a. Indian. Skt. *dharayati* 'holds,' Pāli *dhareti*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bagh*, Sindhi *vāghu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāidi* 'canal,' Wāxi *vād*, Šiy. *vēd*, Sarq. *vād*.

Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pai*, New Pers. *pāi*, Wāxī *pūd*, Šiy. *pād*, Sangl. *puđ*, Gīl. *pō*, Tāt *pā*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phās*. Av. *gātu* 'place,' Old Pers. *gātu*, Phl. *gās*, New Pers. *gāh*, Afy. *yālai*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' New Pers., Kurd. *mā*, Oss. *max*.

$\bar{a} > a$.

§ 16. The shortening of an original \bar{a} is the most frequent change of all those to which this sound is subject, whether in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. It is well known that the doubling of an original single consonant or the retention of an original consonant-group causes a preceding long vowel to become short in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. Beside the regular shortening of original \bar{a} under the conditions just described there are numerous instances of sporadic shortening of original \bar{a} .

a. Indian. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindi *bagh*, Sindhi *vāgh*. Skt. *mārgasira* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasira*, Pāli *māgasira*, *maggasira*. Skt. *upasthāpitva* 'having established,' Gāthā *upasthapitva*. Skt. *dēvalaya* 'temple,' Uṛ. *dēula*, Bang., Hindi *dēval*, Panj. *dēvalā*, Sindhi *dēvali*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēul*. Skt. *mārga* 'road,' Apab. Prāk. *maggu*, Pāli *magga*, Hindi *mag*, *māmgā*, Sindhi *māgu*, other New Ind. dialects *māg*. Skt. *mahārgha* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahamga*, Nāip. *mahamgō*, E. Hindi, Hindi *mahamgā*, Panj. *mahimgā*, Sindhi *mahamgō*, Guj. *mōmghum*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāt*, Pāli *khādati*, Nāip. *khatbōm*, Kāśm. *khyun*, Uṛ. *khānā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Sindhi *khānu*, Guj. *khāvum*, Mar. *khānēm*, Sinh. *kanavā*, Gyp. *cha*. Skt. *bhāgineya* 'sister's son,' Māhar. Prāk. *bhāginejja*, Pāli *bhāgineyya*, Sinh. *bahānā*, *bānā*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Uṛ., Bang. *gām*, Hindi *gāmv*, Sindhi *gāmu*, *gā(m)u*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāmv*, Sinh. *gāmi*, Gyp. *gav*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargās*, New Pers. *kargas*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afy. *yūn*.

Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbah*, Sarq. *rapé*, Kāš. *rūwās*, Tal. *rvōs*, N. Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robās*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šiy., Sarq. *aftav*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Bohtan *tāv*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *aṣād*, Tag. *afsad*. Phl., New Pers. *ard* 'meal,' Casp. dialects *ōr*, Nāy. *ar*, Afy. *ōra*.

a > *ī*.

§ 17. The change of *ā* to *ī* occurs very rarely.

b. Iranian. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see preceding §). Phl., New Pers. *darmān* 'medicine,' Šiy., Sarq. *darmīn*. Old Pers. *amānaya* 'remained,' Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *māndan*, Kurd. *minim* 'I remain.'

ā > *ū*.

§ 18. The change of *ā* to *ū* is excessively rare in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the New Persian and its dialects as well as in numerous sporadic instances in the other Iranian dialects *ā* is changed to *ū* before *m* and *n*, as *ē* is changed to *ī* under the same circumstances (see § 89).

a. Indian. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Uṛ. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpās*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj. *kapah*, Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*, Siṃh. *kapu*. Skt. *sāsna* 'paunch,' Prāk. *sunhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sānu* 'knee,' Phl. *sānūk*, New Pers. *sānū*, Wāxī *sān*, Sarq. *sūn*, Sangl. *song*, Judæo-Pers. *sūnī*, *sānī*, Afy. *sangum*, Bal. *sān*, Kurd. *sāna*. Av. *rāna* 'thigh,' Phl., New Pers. *rān*, Šiy. *rām*, Afy. *vrūn*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, Nāy. *yūmu*, Kurd. *yūma*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, Šiy. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safur*, Minj. *caṣṣr*, Yidg. *čtr*, Afy. *čalōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *terəsaiti* 'fears,' Old Pers. *tarsatīy*, Phl. *tarsīṭanō*, New Pers. *tarsān* 'cowardly,' Bal. *trusag*, N. Bal. *tursay*, Kurd. *tarsunak*, Oss. *tharsun*.

$\bar{a} > \check{e}$.

§ 19. The change of \bar{a} to \check{e} is one of excessive rarity both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In Assamese and colloquial Bangālī the change of \bar{a} to \check{e} is not infrequent.

Skt. *mātra* 'measure,' Prāk. *metta*, Pālī *matta*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Mar. *ṭhēvaṇēm*. Skt. *āsā* 'hope,' Mahār. Prāk. *āsā*, Ass. *ēsā*, *āsā*. Skt. *rātrī* 'night,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāt*, Pālī *ratti*, Ur., Bang., Bihār. *rāt(i)*, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhi *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Sinh. *rā*, *rāya*. Skt., Pālī *ālōka* 'appearance,' Sinh. *eliya*, *alu*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *tēv* 'strength,' beside *tāv*. Phl. *vācār* 'market-place,' New Pers. *bāsar*, Gab. *viār*, Kāš. *bōsār*, *vōjār*, Kurd. *bāsēr*, Eng. loan-word *bazaar*.

$\bar{a} > \check{o}$.

§ 20. The change of \bar{a} to \check{o} seems not to be found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is not infrequent. The change is especially frequent in Māzandarānī and Tālish, and in Afyān \bar{a} regularly becomes \check{o} , excepting before nasals, where the change is to \bar{u} (cf. § 18 above). It is also to be noted that in New Persian itself the pronunciation of \bar{a} often tends to approach the value of \check{o} .

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Siv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vo*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāš*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. New Pers. (dialectic) *māng* 'moon,' Gab. *mām*, Māz. *māng*, Gil. *mām*, Tāl. *mōng*, Tāt *mang*, Kurd. *māng*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Wāxi *yapak*, *yupk*, Minj. *yaoya*, Yidg. *yovγ*, Yayn. *ap*, Gab. *ō*, Siv. *au*, *av*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāš. *āv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(u)*, Gil., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Afy. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*. Av. *naṃan* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxi

nung, Māz. *nūm*, Gil. *nōm*, Afy. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*.

Aphaeresis of ā.

§ 21. The aphaeresis of *ā* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' New Pers. *ataš*, *taš*, *ātiš*, Šiy. *yač*, Sarq. *yuč*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *ayapta* 'reward,' Phl. (*ā*)*yāftan*, New Pers. *yāftan*, Dig. Oss. *yāfun*, Tag. *yāfin*.

Apocope of ā.

§ 22. The apocope of original *ā* is similar to the apocope of the corresponding short vowel (see § 13, a).

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Hindī *chām(v)*, *chām̐h*, *chāōm*, Panj. *chām*, *chāum*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāmy*. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīnd*, Sindhi *nimr*, Guj. *nimdd*, Mar. *nīd*. Skt. *dūrvā* 'grass,' Pāli *dubba*, Ur., Bang. *dūba*, Hindī *dūb*.

Anaptyxis of ā.

§ 23. The anaptyxis of *ā* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *maṭ-patīfrasa* 'with recompense,' Phl. *patīfrās*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādafrāh*, *pādafrāh*.

$$i = i.$$

§ 24. Indo-Iranian *i* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Skt. *iva* 'as,' Prāk. *via*, Pāli *iva*. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *viṣṣu*, Ur. *bijuli*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *bijali*, Sindhi *viṣum*, Guj. *viṣul*, Mar. *bijali*, *viṣ*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Kāš. *paš*, Šiy., Sarq. *pid*. Av. *ciṭ* 'what,' Old Pers. *ciy*, Pāz., New Pers. *cih*, Afy. *ca*, Kurd. *cī*, *ca*, *cē*, Dig. Oss. *ci*, *či*, Tag. *či*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*.

i > *a*.

§ 25. The change of *i* to *a* is quite common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Indian the phenomenon occurs most frequently in Panjābī, Sindhi, and above all in Gujarātī. See now Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 115.

a. Indian. Skt. *haridrā* 'turmeric,' Prāk. *haladdā*, *haladdī*, Pālī *haliddā*, also Kāśm. *līdir*, *līdar*, Uṛ. *haldī*, Bang. *haludā*, Bihārī, Hindī *haldī*, Panj. *haldhī*, Guj. *halad*, Mar. *haladdā*. Skt. *iti* 'thus,' Prāk. *tī*, *ia*, Pālī *itī*. Skt. *śīthila* 'loose,' Prāk. *sadhīla*, *siḍhīla*, Pālī *sīthīla*, *saṭhīla*, Ass. *ḍhīl*, Nāip. *ḍhīlō*, Uṛ. *ḍhīla*, Bang. *ḍhīla*, *ḍhala*, Bihārī *ḍhīla*, E. Hindī *ḍhal*, Hindī *ḍhīla*, Panj. *ḍhīlō*, *ḍhīrō*, Sindhi *ḍharō*, *ḍhīrō*, *ḍhīlō*, Guj. *ḍhīlum*, Mar. *saḍhal*, *ḍhīlā*. Skt., Pālī *kaṭhina* 'difficult,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *kaṭhin*, Panj. *kaṭhan*, Sindhi *kaṭanu*, Guj. *kaṭhan*, Mar. *kaḍhin*. Skt. *garbhīṇī* 'pregnant,' Prāk. *gabbhīṇī*, Pālī *gab-bhīṇī*, Bang. *gābhīṇa* (vulg. *gabna*), Hindī *gābhīn*, Panj. *garabhan*, Sindhi *gābhīnī*, Guj., Mar. *gābhan*. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śaur. *divasa*, Pālī *divasa*, Mar. *divasa*, Old Sinh. *divasa*, Sinh. *davasa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *simō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *sam*, Tāl. *sumistān*, Wāxi *zam*, Šiy. *simj*, Sarq. *samān*, Afy. *simai*, Kurd. *savistān*, Dig. Oss. *sumag*, Tag. *simag*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, Wāxi *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaša*, Kurd. *sipi*, Oss. *sisth*. Av. *hiwa* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h)uuvān*, *uvān*, New Pers. *sabān*, *subān*, Gab. *isvūn*, Wāxi *sik*, Šiy. *sav*, Sarq. *siv*, Afy. *šiba*, Bal. *simān*, Kurd. *asmān*, *sumān*, Oss. *avag*.

i > *ā*.

§ 26. The change of *i* to *ā* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pālī *ucchū*, Uṛ. *akhu*, *ākha*, *īkha*, Bang. *āku*, Hindī *īkh*, *ūkh*, Guj., Mar. *ās*, Sinh. *imgu*, *uk*.

$i > u$.

§ 27. The change of i to u is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The change of i to u is particularly frequent in unaccented syllables in Uriya and Bangālī.

Skt. *raḥila* 'lizard,' Pālī *raḥula*. Skt. *iṣu* 'arrow,' Jāina Prāk., Pālī *usu*. Skt., Pālī *bindu* 'drop,' Uṛ., Bang. *bindī*, Hindi, Panj. *būnd*, *bind*, Sindhi *būnd*, *būmrō*, *bīmṛī*, Guj. *būnd*, *vindu*, Mar. *bindī*, *būnd*, Sinh. *poda*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Uṛ. *gēru*, Hindi *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*. Skt. *tintidī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *təntēli*, Nāip. *titri*, Uṛ. *təntulī*, *təntulī*, Bang. *tə(n)tul*. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Sinh. *ingu*, *uk*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. The change of i to u is especially common in the Digaurish dialect of the Ossetish.

New Pers. *mufah* 'eyelash,' beside *miḥah*, Gab. *mujang*, Kāš. *maja*, *muja*, *mafa*, Bal. *micāc*, N. Bal. *mišāš*, Kurd. *mišān*, *mišī*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Tal. *sumistan*, Dig. Oss. *sumag*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *hīva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h*)*uvān*, *suwān*, New Pers. *sabān*, *subān*, etc. (see § 25).

$i > ī$.

§ 28. The lengthening of i to $ī$ is due in the majority of cases to compensatory lengthening, as in the case of a developed from a (see § 5). The phenomenon occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Prāk. *siha*, Gāthā *siṃha*, Kāśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindi *siṃgh*, *siṃh*, *siogh*, Panj. *siṃgh*, other New Indian dialects *siṃh*. Skt. *jihva* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jīha*, *jibbha*, Pālī *jihva*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kāśm. *seo*, Sindhi *jibh*, Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dā*, other New Indian dialects *jibh*. Skt. *āupaśivi*, nom. prop., Pālī *upasiṃva*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prāk. *viśat*, Pālī *viśam*, *viśati*, Kāśm. *vuh*, Bang. *biśa*, Hindi *bis*, Panj. *bīh*, Sindhi *vīh*, Guj., Mar. *viś*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,'

Prāk. *bahinī*, Pālī *bhaginī*, U_r. *bhāuṇī*, *bhatuṇī*, Bang. *bhaṇ*, Hindi *bahin*, Panj. *bhāin*, *bāimh*, Sindhi *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhen*, Mar. *bahīṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *hucitra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucihr*, New Pers. *huštr*, *hujir*, *xujir*. Av. *vicinōiṣ* 'gathered,' Phl. *ciṣtanō*, New Pers. *cidan*, Bal. *cinag*, N. Bal. *chinay*, Kurd. *cinin*. Skt. *kapiṅjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapinjar*, N. Bal. *khavinjar*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*. Old Pers. *cišciy* 'something,' New Pers. *ciš*, Kurd. *tišt*.

i > ū

§ 29. The change of *i* to *ū* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' U_r. *akhu*, *ikha*, *akha*, Hindi *ikh*, *akh*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, etc. (see § 26).

i > ē

§ 30. The change of *i* to *e*, *ē* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, but it is exceedingly rare in the Iranian dialects, where a few cases of the compensatory lengthening of *i* to *ē* are found. In the Indian dialects the change appears most frequently before double consonants in Middle Indian (consequently the *e* in such cases is short). Of the New Indian dialects the Gujarātī presents the greatest number of examples of this change, which is, on the whole, more common in the West of India than in the East.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk. *ṇedda*, *ṇidda*. Skt. *kirāṭa* 'hypocrite,' Pālī *kēraṭika*, *kēraṭiya*. Skt. *dvibhāga* 'two-fold,' Pālī *dvebhāga*. Skt. *tintiḍi* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmteli*, U_r. *tēmtulī*, *tēmtuli*, Bang. *tē(m)tul*, etc. (see § 27). Skt. *sindūra* 'vermilion,' Prāk. *sendūra*, Pālī *sindūra*, Ass. *sendur*, *sindur*, Bang. *sindur*, Bihārī *sēnur*, Hindi *sēmdūr*, Sindhi *sindhuru*, Guj. *sindūr*, Mar. *sēmdūr*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *ciy* 'what,' Kurd. *cē*, *cī*, *ca*, etc. (see § 24). New Pers. *gišniz* 'coriander,' Bal. *gēnic*.

Aphaeresis of i.

§ 31. Aphaeresis of original *i* is very rare in the Indian dialects. The Tagaurish dialect of the Ossetish presents several instances of the aphaeresis of *i* which has become initial after the loss of original initial consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānim* 'now,' Prāk., Pali *dāni(m)*.

[b. Iranian. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vist*, New Pers. *bist*, Kāš. *vištā*, *vis(sā)*, Wāxi *vist*, Sarq. *vist*, Bal. *gist*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*. Av. *hištaiti* 'stands,' Dig. Oss. *isthun*, Tag. *sthin*.]

Syncope of i.

§ 32. The syncope of *i* is excessively rare. Possibly the loss of a final *i* in a word which is made the first member of a compound may be considered here.

b. Iranian. Av. *sairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' New Pers. *saryūn*, Afy. *saryūn*.

Apocope of i.

§ 33. Apocope of *i* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dr̥ṣṭi* 'sight,' Prāk., Pali *diṭṭhi*, Hindi *ḍiṭhi*, *ḍiṭh*, *ḍiṭh*, Panj. *ḍiṭṭh*, Sindhi *ḍiṭi*, Mar. *ḍiṭh*. Skt. *vyakti* 'person,' Hindi *bikat*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from' + *adairi* 'beneath,' Pāz. *ašer*, New Pers. *šer*, Afy. *lar*, Kurd. *šir*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

Prothesis of i.

§ 34. Prothetic *i* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is quite common, especially before initial consonant-groups whose first component is a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *stri* 'woman,' Prāk., Pali *itthi*, *thi*, Gāthā *istri*, colloquial Hindi *istri*, *astri*, Sindhi *istri*, Elu *itiri*, Simh. *istri*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sōbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid*, Yidg. *spī*, Afy. *spīn*, *spēra*, Kurd. *ispī*, *spī*. Skt. *srgāla* 'jackal,' Phl., New Pers. *šayāl*, Šiy., Sarq. *iškāl*, Afy. *cayāl*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Wāxi *γūš*, *γiš*, Afy. *γvay*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *guh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*, but Dig. *iγosun* 'to hear,' Tag. *qūsin*. Skt. *anḡa* 'limb,' Dig. Oss. *ion*, Tag. *on*. [Hübschmann considers the *i* in these cases to be original in the Oss., but he thinks that the Tag. dialect has lost the *i*, rather than that the Dig. shows a prothetic *i*.]

$\text{ī} = \text{i}$.

§ 35. Indo-Iranian ī is generally preserved without change both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Assamese no character for ī exists, *i* being written instead. The Old Hindi often writes *iy* for ī (Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Old Hindi *jīyava*). The New Persian, as is well known, has confused in many words the *majhāl* ('unknown [to the Arabs]' = Persian sounds) vowels ē , ō with the *mašrūf* ('known [to the Arabs]' = Arabic sounds) vowels ī , ū . The Judæo-Persian and the Balūči, like the Indian pronunciation of New Persian, maintain clearly the original distinction between the *majhāl* and the *mašrūf* vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīvita* 'life,' Prak. *jīvia*, Pali *jīvita*. Skt. *dirgha* 'long,' Prak. *dīha(rā)*, *diggha*, Pali *diḡha*, Sindhi *ḍrighō*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Šīr., Šiy. *šīrin*, Minj. *xšīr*, Kurd. *šīr*, Oss. *axšīr*. Av. *vīra* 'understanding,' Phl. *vīr(ak)*, New Pers. *vīr*, Gab. *vīr*, Bal. *gīr*, Kurd. *bīr*.

$\text{ī} > a$.

§ 36. The change of ī to *a* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhīṣma* 'terrible,' Pali *bhasma*, *bhisma*. Skt. *parīkṣā* 'test,' Bang. *parakha*, *parakhāi*, Hindi *parakhānā*, *parakhāiyā*, Panj. *parakhavūn*, *parakhanār*, Sindhi *parakhīa*, *parkhaṇu*, Mar. *parakhaṇēh*, *parakhī*.

ī > i.

§ 37. The shortening of ī is naturally the most common change to which ī is subject. It occurs, however, with comparative infrequency in the Iranian dialects. For the principal conditions under which the change occurs see above under § 25.

a. Indian. Skt. *tikṣṇa* 'sharp,' Prāk. *tiṇha*, *tikkha*, Pāli *tiṇha*, *tikkha*, *tikhiṇa*, New Indian dialects *tikh*, except Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *tikh*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindi, Panj. *isar*. Skt. *alika* 'false,' Prāk. *alia*, Pāli *alika*. Skt. *dvitīya* 'second,' Prāk. *duia*, Uṛ. *dusra*, Old Hindi *dūjā*, Hindi *dūsarā*, Panj. *dū(j)ā*, Sindhi *bijō*, *biō*, Guj. *bijō*, Mar. *dusarā*. Skt. *ga(m)bhira* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhira*, Uṛ. *gahira*, Hindi *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhi *gāhirā*. Skt. *kīla* 'pin,' Pāli *k(h)īla*, Uṛ. *kīla*, Hindi *killā*, Panj. *kill*, Sindhi *kilt*, Mar. *killā*. Skt. *kīṭa* 'worm,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *kiḍā*, Sindhi *kiḍō*, Guj. *kiḍō*, Mar. *kiḍā*, *kiḍ*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sisā*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindi, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhi *sīs*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śī(n)s*, Sinh. *iha*, *isa*, *his*, *sis*. Skt. *kīrti* 'fame,' Prāk., Pāli *kitti* Sinh. *kit*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *jivāhy* 'thou shalt live,' Phl. *šwandak* 'living,' New Pers. *sindak*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Šīr., Šīy. *širin*, Oss. *axšir*, etc. (see § 35). Skt. *bija* 'seed,' Bal. *bij*. New Pers. *kōhi* 'mountainous,' Kurd. *kōvi*.

ī > u.

§ 38. The change of ī to u is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīra* 'cummin-seed,' Sinh. *duru*. Skt. *pravāsin* 'sojourner,' Prāk. *pavāsū*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mīśda* 'reward,' Phl. *mused*, Pāz. *mosd*, New Pers. *muzd*, *mušd*, Kurd., Oss. *misd*.

ī > ā.

§ 39. The change of ī to ā is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiraścina* 'going sideways,' Pāli *tiracchāna* 'animal.'

ī > ě.

§ 40. The change from ī to ě is not very common in the Middle Indian dialects, while in the New Indian and in the Iranian dialects it is still more rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kīṛśa* 'what kind?' Prāk. *kērisa*, Apab. Prāk. *kēlu*, Sindhi *kēharō*, *kēru*. Skt. *nīḍa* 'nest,' Prāk. *neḍḍa*, *nīḍa*, Pāli *niḍḍha*, *nīla*. Skt. *grhītvā* 'having taken,' Pāli *gahetvā*. Skt. *kṛīḍa* 'sport,' Pāli *khēla*, Hindi *khelnā*, Gyp. ✓*khel* 'to dance.' Skt. *bhīma* 'fearful,' Sinh. *bem*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *pīr* 'old,' New Pers. *pīr*, Judaeo-Pers. *pēr*, Bal. *pīrūk*, N. Bal. *phīrūk*.

ī > ō.

§ 41. The change of ī to ō is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'landing-place,' Prāk. *tīttha*, *tūha*, Pāli *tīttha*, Sindhi *tīrthu*, Sinh. *toṭa*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *sinjīr* 'chain,' Wāxi *sansīr*, Šiy. *sinsīr*, Sarq. *sansair*, Bal. *samsāl*, Kurd. *sanjōr*, *sanjīr*.

Apocope of ī.

§ 42. The apocope of final ī occurs in several New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garbhīnī* 'pregnant,' Hindi *gabhīn*, Panj. *garabhaṇ*, Guj., Mar. *gābhaṇ*, etc. (see § 25).

u = u.

§ 43. Indo-Iranian u is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chupati* 'touches,' Prāk. *chupaṭ*, Pāli *chupati*, Uṛ., Bang. *chum*, Old Hindi *chuh*, Hindi *chā*, Panj. *chūh*, Sindhi *chuh*, Guj. *chū*, *chō*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paūrisa*, Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Sindhi *purusu*, Gyp. *poṣa*, cf. also Sinh. *pirimiyā*, Maladive *firimīha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl. New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Wāxi *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xus(k)*. Av. *duydar* 'daughter,' Phl. *duxt*, New Pers. *duxt(ar)*, Wāxi *dagd*, Sangl. *day*, Minj. *loyda*, Yidg. *luydoh*, Afy. *lūr*, Kurd. *duxt*, ditt. Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Phl. *mutrāk*, *mudar*, *muhr*, New Pers., Kurd. *muhr*, Oss. *mizur*.

u > a.

§ 44. The change of *u* to *a* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punar* 'again,' Prāk. *punu*, *pana* (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), Pāli *pana*. Skt. *sphurati* 'flashes,' Pāli *pharati*. Skt. *suruṣga* 'mine,' Pāli *suruṅga*, Uṛ. *suḍaṅga*, Bihārī, Hindi *suramṅ*, Sindhi *siringh*, Mar. *suramṅ*. Skt. *karbura* 'variegated,' Hindi *kabarā*, *kābar*, Panj. *kabrā*, Sindhi *kūbirō*, Guj. *kābar*, Mar. *kabarā*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dābar*, Hindi *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhi *qūbirō*, *qābalō*, Guj. *dubal(a)*, Mar. *dubāl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuvān*, New Pers. *javān*, *vān*, Māz. *javān*, Afy., Bal. *javān*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afy. *maz*. Av. *ustra* 'camel,' Phl. *uṣtr*, New Pers. *uṣtur*, Wāxi *uṣtūr*, Šiy. *štur*, Bal. *huṣtar*, Kurd. *haštir*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl. New Pers. *dum(b)*, Sarq. *ḍūm(bā)*, Afy. *lam*, Bal. *ḍim*, Kurd. *dūw*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *dimag*.

u > i.

§ 45. The change of *u* to *i* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paūrisa*, Pāli

purisa, cf. also Sinh. *pirimiya*, Maladive *firimīha*, etc. (see § 43). Skt. *kuṭumba* 'family,' Pali *kuṭimba*. Skt. *undura*, *undara* 'rat,' Pali *undura*, E. New Ind. dialects *indūr*, Mar. *undār*. Skt. *valukā* 'sand,' Pali *vālukā*, Ass. Uṛ., Bang. *bālī*, Hindi *bālā*, Sindhi *vāri*, Guj. *bālu*, Mar. *vāluṃ*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Prāk. *thui*, Pali *thuti*, Sinh. *tiyu*, *tivu*, *tuti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθra*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Wāxi *pōtr*, Šiy. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Kurd. *pisir*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*. Av. *tusən* 'they evacuated,' Phl. *tuhik* 'empty,' New Pers. *tihī*, Gab. *tohi*, Judaeo-Pers. *tuha*, Bal. *tusag*, N. Bal. *thusay*. Av. *buna* 'foundation,' Phl., New Pers. *bun*, Wāxi *bōn*, Šiy. *bon*, Sarq. *bun*, Bal. *bunā*, Kurd. *bin*, *bun*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Dig. Oss. *stud*, Tag. *stid*.

u > ā

§ 46. The change of *u* to *ā* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhānumati* 'jugglery,' Mar. *bhānāmātī*.

u > ī

§ 47. The change of *u* to *ī* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suzra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuzra*, Phl. *suzr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šir. *strah*, Siv. *str*, Yazdi *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxi *sōkr*, Šiy. *strah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Bal. *dim*, etc. (see § 44).

u > ū

§ 48. The lengthening of *u* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the majority of cases to compensation (cf. also §§ 5, 28).

a. Indian. Skt. *utsava* 'feast,' Prāk. *ūsava*, Pali *ussava*. Skt. *kula* 'family,' Prāk., Pali *kula*, Uṛ. *kūla*, Sindhi *kuru*, *kulu*, Guj. *kuḷ*, Mar. *kuḷ*, *kuḷ*. Skt. *muṣala* 'pestle,' Prāk. *mūsala*, Pali *musala*, Bang. *mūṣal*, Hindi *mūsāl*. Skt. *pura* 'town,' Prāk., Pali *pura*, Bihār. *pūr*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *sa-*

mudda, Pali *samudda*, *muhudda*, Sinh. *muhuda*, *māda*. Skt. *muṣṭi* 'fist,' Prak., Pali *muṭṭhi*, Bang. *muṭhā*, *muṭhi*, Hindi *mūṭh*, *muṭhā*, Sindhi *muṭhi*, *mūṭh*, Guj. *muṭṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *parətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *puhl*, *pūl*, Gtl. *purd*, Kurd. *par*, *pir(d)*, *purd*. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suzra* 'red,' Afy. *sūr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kurd. *turb* 'turnip,' Mukri *tūr*.

$u > \check{e}$.

§ 49. The change of *u* to \check{e} is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *p(h)upphusa* 'lung,' Prak. *phupphusa*, Pali *phapphāsa*, Uṛ. *phāmsaphāmsa*, *phāmphāmi*, Bang. *phēmparā*, *phōmpasā*, Hindi *phēpharā*, *phēpharā*, Sindhi *phiphiru*, Mar. *phōpīs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaitē* 'goes,' Old Pers. *āšiyavam*, New Pers. *šud*, Wāxi *cauam*, Šiy. *rafcām*, Sarq. *savsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šut(a)*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuda*, Kurd. *ciān*, Zaza *šē*, Oss. *čaun*.

$u > \check{o}$.

§ 50. The change of *u* to \check{o} is very rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects the confusion between the *maḥjūl* and the *ma'ruḥ* vowels must be borne in mind. Somewhat akin to the change of *u* to \check{o} is the change of *u* to \check{o} in Wāxi and to *u* in Sariqoli, while the other New Persian dialects usually retain original *u* unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *muktā* 'pearl,' Prak. *motta*, Pali *mutta*, Uṛ. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi, Guj., Mar. *mōti*. Skt. *ulūkhala* 'mortar,' Prak. *ḍhala*, *okkhala*, *u(l)ūhala*, Uṛ. *ukhalī*, Mar. *ukhal*. Skt. *ulka* 'torch,' Prak. *ukka*, Pali *okka*. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ass. *kuṭh*, Nāip. *kōr*, Uṛ. *kōḍha*, Bang. *kōṭh*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Guj. *kōḍh* (cf. Skt. *kuṣṭhin* 'leper,' Hindi *kōṛi*), Mar. *kōḍ*. Skt., Pali *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Uṛ. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍāl*, Sindhi *kōṛārī*, Guj. *kōḍārō*, Sinh. *udalu*, *udalla*. Skt. *pustaka*

'book,' Prak. *potthaa*, Pali *potthaka*, New Ind. dialects *pōthā*, *pōthī*, Sinh. *pota*.

b. Iranian. Av. *uši* 'understanding,' Phl. (h)ōš, New Pers. *hōš*, *huš*. Av. *uśah* 'dawn,' Phl. *hōš*. Av. *puśra* 'son,' Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Wāxi *pōtr*, Sarq. *pōč*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suzra* 'red,' Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxi *sōkr*, etc. (see § 47). Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juy*, Kuhr. *yā*, Šiy. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūy*, Kurd. *jūk*.

Aphaeresis of u.

§ 51. The loss of initial *u* is not uncommon in the New Indian dialects, although it occurs but rarely in the Middle Indian. In the Iranian dialects aphaeresis of *u* seems to have been preceded in the Middle Iranian by a change of *u* to *a* (Old Pers. *upariy* 'above,' Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (a)*bar*. Skt. *upasthāna* 'assistance,' Phl. *apastān*).

a. Indian. Skt. *udaka*, *daka* 'water,' Jaina Prak. *daga*, Pali *daka*, *ōka*, Sinh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *upaviśati* 'sits down,' Pali *upavisati*, Ass. *bahē*, Nāip. *basē*, Kāsm. ✓*bih*, Uṛ. *basē*, E. Hindi, Hindi *batsē*, Sindhi *biḥē*, Mar. *baisē*, *vasē*. Skt., Pali *udumbara* 'fig-tree,' Uṛ. *ḍumuri*, Bang. *ḍumur*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prak. *uajjhāa*, Pali *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādha*, Hindi *ōjhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (a)*bar*, Wāxi, Sarq. *var*, Afy. *prē*, Bal. *par*, *gvar*, N. Bal. *phar*, Kurd. *bar*, Dig. Oss. *vol*, Tag. *ol*. Av. *uśtra* 'camel,' Phl. *uśtr*, New Pers. *ustur*, *šutur*, Wāxi *uśtur*, Šiy. *štur*, Bal. *huštār*, *uštir*.

Syncope of u.

§ 52. Syncope of *u* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prak. *dha(d)a*, *dhi(d)a*, Pali *dhita*, Uṛ. *jhia*, Bang. *jhi*, Hindi, Panj. *dhi(ya)*, Sindhi *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhi(ya)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daiśhu-paiti* 'lord of the land,' New Pers.

dihzān 'village-chief' (cf. Armenian loan-word *dehpet* from Av. *daišhu-paiti*).

Apocope of u.

§ 53. The loss of final *u* occurs very frequently in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *taru* 'tree,' Bihārī *tar(u)*. Skt. *bāhu* 'arm,' Apab. *bahā*, Pali *bāhu*, Uṛ., Bang. *baha*, Hindī, Panj. *bāmh*, Sindhi *bāmh*, Guj. *bāmhi*, Mar. *bāmhi*, *bāhi*, *bāhu*.

Prothesis of u.

§ 54. The prothesis of *u* is very frequent in the Iranian dialects before initial consonant-groups. The phenomenon is not found in the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *stūna* 'column,' Phl. *stūn*, New Pers. *sutūn*, *ustūn*, Afy. *stan*, Kurd. (*i*)*stūn*. Skt. *sthūra* 'firm,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Sangl. *usturak*, etc. (see § 14). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25).

Epenthesis of u.

§ 55. The epenthesis of *u* is very rare. The Kāśmīrī shows many cases of an inserted *u* after *i* in *u*-stems.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīla* 'blue,' Kāśm. *nyula*. Skt. *dr̥ṣṭha* 'seen,' Kāśm. *dyuṭhu*.

$$ū = u.$$

§ 56. Indo-Iranian *ū* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pali *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Uṛ. *bhūma*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī, Panj. *bhām*, *bhām*, *bhām*, Sindhi *bhu(in)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhoy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Sinh. *bima*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būmi* 'earth,' Phl., New Pers. *būm*. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Phl., New Pers. *dūr*, Gab. *dīr*, Māz. *dār*, Gil. *dūr*, Wāxi *dīr*, Šiy., Sarq. *dar*, Yidg. *lūro*, Afy. *līri*, Kurd. *dār*.

ā > *a*.

§ 57. The change of *ā* to *a* is not frequent either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān, when *ā* often becomes *a* before nasals or *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *dukūla* 'silken robe,' Prāk. *dualla*, *duāla*, Jaina Prāk. *dugulla*, Pali *dukūla*. Skt. *bhrūmukha* 'eyebrow,' Jaina Prāk. *bhamuha*, Pali *bhamuka* (cf. also Pali *bhamu* 'eyebrow'), Gyp. *phov*. [See now Pischel, *Gr. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 206, 261.]

b. Iranian. Skt. *sthāra* 'large,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūram*, Phl., New Pers. *nūn*, Šiy. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, Afy. *nan*, Bal. *nūn*.

ā > *i*.

§ 58. The change of *ā* to *i* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Ur. *māla*, Guj., Mar. *mōl*, Sinh. *mīla*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suṛja*, *sūria*, Pali *suriya*, Hindi, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhi *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*, Sinh. (*h*)*iru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *mūṣ* 'mouse,' New Pers. *māš*, Gab. *mušk*, Samn. *mūš*, Afy. *mayā(k)*, Bal. *mušk*, N. Bal. *māšk*, Kurd. *miš(i)k*, Dig. Oss. *mista*, Tag. *mist*.

ā > *u*.

§ 59. The shortening of *ā* to *u* is the most frequent change to which *u* is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups (cf. §§ 16, 37). In Assamese *ā* is always written *u*.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kāśm. *mōl* (but *mūlai* 'radically'), Ur. *māla*, Bang. Hindi *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhi *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*. Skt. *tūrya* 'musical instrument,' Prāk. *tūra*, Jaina Prāk. *tūdiya*, Pali *turiya*, Ur. *turī*, Bang. *turum*, Hindi *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *turam*, Sindhi, Guj. *turī*. Skt.

śālaka 'root of the water-lily,' Pāli *salūka*. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'dust,' Prāk., Pāli *cūrṇa*, Kāśm. *cūn*, Uṛ. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindī *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhi *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, also Uṛ., Bang. *cunā*, Hindī *cūnā*, Panj. *cūnā*, *cūnī*, Sindhi *cunu*, Guj. *cunō*, Mar. *cunā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kāśm. *khuh*, Uṛ., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kū(m)ām*, Sindhi *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Prāk., Pāli *dhūma*, Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhūām*, Kāśm. *duh*, Uṛ. *dhūmā*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhū(m)ām*, Sindhi *dhūmhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Sinhh. *dum*, Gyp. *thuv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būsa* 'goat,' Phl. *buḡ*, New Pers. *bus*, *buḡ*, Wāxi *buc*, *būc*, Šiy., Sarq. *vas*, Sangl. *vus*, Minj. *vusa*. Av. *gūša* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, Kāś. *gūs*, Wāxi *gū*, *gī*, Šiy. *yaθ*, Yayn. *yūθ(ah)*, Afy. *γul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrem*, Šiy. *nūr*, Sarq. *nūr*, etc. (see § 57). Av. *kū* 'where,' Pāz. *ku*, New Pers. *kuja*, Minj. *ko*, Afy. *kām*, Bal. *kū*, N. Bal. *khū*, Kurd. *ku*, Oss. *khud*.

[Final *ū* is often shortened to *u* in the New Indian dialects. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, Uṛ. *bahu*, Bang. *baū*, Hindī *bahū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhi *vahū*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū* (yet in most of these dialects the word is actually pronounced *boh(ū)*).]

ū > a.

§ 60. The change of *ū* to *a* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *masūraka* 'pillow,' Pāli *masāraka*.

ū > i.

§ 61. The change of *ū* to *i* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *bahurūpa* 'juggler,' Mar. *bhōrapi*, *b(h)ōrip*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Gab. *dir*, Māz. *dir*, Wāxi *dir*, Afy. *liri*, *liri*, etc. (see § 56). Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Phl. *dūt*, New Pers. *dūd*, Wāxi *dūt*, Šiy. *dud*, Sarq. *dūt*, Afy. *lū*, Bal. *dūt*, *dūt*, N. Bal. *dūθ*, Kurd. *dū*. New Pers. *būdand* 'they were,' Tāt *birūd*. Kurd. *barik* 'pocket' beside *barūk*.

$\bar{u} > \check{e}$.

§ 62. The change of \bar{u} to \check{e} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ñēura*, *nēura*, *niura*, Pali *nūpura*, Uṛ. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhi *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*. Skt. *pūrva* 'former,' Prāk. *puvva*, Śaur. Prāk. *purava*, New Ind. dialects *pūrba*, except Hindi *pūrab*, Sindhi *pūrbu*, Sinh. *pera*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Kaš. Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxi *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sičin*, N. Bal. *sišin*, *šišan*, *šišin*, *šešin*, Kurd. *sūsin*.

$\bar{u} > \check{o}$.

§ 63. This change, like the one preceding, is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrja* 'strength,' Pali *ōja*. Skt. *tambūla* 'betel,' Prāk. *tambōla*, Pali *tambūla*, Uṛ. *tambōla*, Guj. *tambāl*, Mar. *tāmbāl*, cf. also Bang. *tāmbul* 'betel-seller,' Hindi *tāmbōli*, Panj. *tāmbōli*, Guj. *tāmbōli*, Mar. *tāmbōli*.

$\bar{u} > yah$.

§ 64. The interchange of \bar{u} and *yah* occurs only finally. It is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *sālū* 'leech,' Šiy., Sarq. *sālyah*, Afy. *šavara*, Bal. *sarāy*, Kurd. *salū(g)*, *sulāl*, *sūrt*.

$\bar{u} > va$.

§ 65. The change of \bar{u} to *va* seems to occur only initially. It is extremely uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *unaviṃśati* 'nineteen,' Prāk. *ūnaviśat*, Kaśm. *kunavuh*, Uṛ. *unāśa*, Bang. *ūniś*, Bihārī *ōnaś*, *vanāś*, Hindi *unīs*, Panj. *unnih*.

$\bar{r} = \check{r}$.

§ 66. Indo-Iranian \bar{r} , which is represented by \check{r} in Old Indian, by *ərə* in Avestan, and by *ar* in Old Persian, has been changed in

the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects to *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ō*, or into *r* (sometimes *l*) preceded or followed by *a*, *i*, *u*. The quality of the vowel in the various developments here considered is generally determined by the character of the consonants which stand near the original *r*. Thus the usual change of *r* is to *a(r)*, *ra*, but labials often colour the vowel to *u(r)*, and sibilants colour it to *i(r)*.

In the Indian Gāthā dialect *r* is regularly retained unchanged, and in Apabhraṃśa Prākṛit *r* often remains.

a. Indian. Skt. *sukṛta* 'well done,' Apab. Prāk. *sukṛdu*, *sukī(d)u*. Skt. *tṛṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *tṛṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, Bang. *tinakā*, *tilakā*, Hindi *tinakā*, Panj. *tiṇ*, Sindhi *tīlī*, Mar. *tan*, Sinh. *taṇa*.

r > *ar*.

§ 67. The change of *r* to *ar* is quite rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is quite frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' (also *gēha*), Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kāśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindi *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*.

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*. Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Phl. *karm*, New Pers. *kirm*, Sarq. *carm*, Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, Dig. Oss. *khalmitha*, Tag. *khalm*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiy. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaš*, Kurd. *virç*, *hirš*, *hirc*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *sərədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *silah*, Grl. *sil*, Šiy. *sṛād*, *sṛāy*, Sarq. *sārd*, Sangl. *usṛāy*, Minj. *sil*, Afy. *sṛa*, Bal. *sirdē*, Kurd. *sar*, Oss. *sarda*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxi *sūr(š)*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Oss. *salā*.

r > *a*.

§ 68. The change of *r* to *a* is very common in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Pāli *vaddha*, *viddha*, *buddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kāśm. *bor*, *boḍ*, Uṛ., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindi *barā*, *barā*, *badda*, Hindi *baḍa*, Panj. *vaḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baḍḍā*, Sindhi *vaḍḍo*, Guj. *vaḍḍo*, Gyp. *baro*, but Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'old,' Uṛ. *būrhā*, *būḍī*, Bang. *buḍa*, Hindi *buddha*, *būḍha*, Panj. *budha*, Sindhi *budhō*, *būḍhō*, Guj. *burhō*. Skt. *vr̥ṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*, Śāur. Prāk. *vasaha*, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house,' Pāli *gaha*, *ghara*, *gēha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Nāip. *māmto*, Kāśm. *miṭ*, Uṛ., Bang. *māṭi*, Hindi, Panj. *maṭṭi*, *miṭṭi*, *māṭi*, Sindhi *miṭi*, Guj. *maṭṭi*, *miṭṭi*, *māṭi*, Mar. *māṭi*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍē*, Uṛ. *malā*, Hindi *muā*, Panj. *muia*, Sindhi *muō*, Guj. *muuim*, Mar. *mēlēm*, Sinh. *malā*, Gyp. *mulo*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pṛdaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, Afy. *prāng*.

r > *ra*.

§ 69. The change of *r* to *ra* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥kṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *vracha* (inscriptions of Girnar), *rukḥha*, *riccha*, *rikkha*, Pāli *rukḥha*, Uṛ. *rūkha*, Hindi *brich*, Mar. *rūkh*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*. [According to Pischel § 320 Prāk. *rukḥha* (and its New Ind. derivatives) is derived from Skt. *rukṣa*, not *vr̥kṣa*.]

r > *ir*.

§ 70. This change, like the one discussed in the preceding section, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛtvij* 'brahmanical priest,' Pāli *iritvija*. Skt. *vr̥ṣa* 'Taurus' (in the Zodiac), Pāli *vusa*, Sindhi *virḥu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəma* 'worm,' New Pers. *kirm*, etc. (see § 67).

r > *i*.

§ 71. The change of *r* to *i* occurs with great frequency both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *krta* 'done,' Prāk. (Shahbāzgarhi inscriptions), *kita*, Māg. Prāk. *kadē*, Māhār. Prāk. *kaya*, Pāś. Prāk. *kata*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śak. Prāk. *kala*, Apab. Prāk. *kidu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Bihārī *kail*, *kāil*, *kayal*, Old Hindi *kūya*, Sindhi *kiō*. Skt. *krpaṇa* 'wretched,' Apab. Prāk. *kivāṇu*. Skt. *mṛga* 'deer,' Pāli *miga*, *maga* (cf. Skt. *mṛdaraka* 'having a deer-sign, moon,' Prāk. *miamka*). Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi*, *risi*, Pāli *isi*, Sinh. *rusi*, Gyp. *raṣay*. Skt. *grdhra* 'vulture,' Śaur. Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *giddha*, *gijjha*, *gaddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Bihārī *gādh*, *gidhwa*, Hindi *giddh*, *gādh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhi *gijh*, Guj., Mar. *gidharh*, *gādh*). Skt. *ghṛta* 'melted butter,' Prāk. *ghaya*, Pāli *ghata*, Uṛ. *ghia*, Bang. *ghi*, Hindi, Panj. *ghī*, *ghiu*, Sindhi *gihu*, Guj., Mar. *ghī*, Gyp. *khil*, Anglo-Ind. *ghee*. Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk. *siṅga*, *saṅga*, Pāli *siṅga*, Uṛ. *siṅga*, Bang. *siṅg*, Hindi *siṅg*, Panj. *siṅg*, Sindhi *sinou*, Guj., Mar. *siṅg*, Gyp. *siṅg*. Skt. *hrdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāś. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Uṛ., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyam*, *hiāum*, Sindhi *himamu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyem*, Gyp. (y)ilo. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *puṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Jaina Prāk., Pāli *piṭṭhi*, Uṛ. *piṭha*, *piṭhi*, Bang., Hindi *piṭh*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Sindhi *puṭhī*, Guj. *piṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, Sinh. *piṭa*, Gyp. *pūsto*. Skt. *tṛṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṇhā*, Pāli *taṇhā*, *tiṇhā*, *tasina*, Hindi *tirakkhā*, *tinakhā*, Panj. *tiḥā*, Sindhi *ṭih*, *ṭihā*, Mar. *tahān*.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxi *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tur(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tā*. Av. *sarədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Bal. *sirdē*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Kurd. *virç*, *hirš*, *hirc*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *gərəpta* 'seized,' New Pers. *girištah*, Māz. *gītah*, Kāš. *gtaft*, Bal. *gipta*.

r > *ri*.

§ 72. The change of *r* to *ri* occurs only initially, and only in semitatsamas or tatsamas in the New Indian dialects. The phenomenon is not infrequent in Hindi and Panjabī; Sindhi and

Gujarātī show fewer examples of it, and it is very uncommon in Uriya, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛddha* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *riddhi*, *iddhi*, Pālī *iddhi*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *rikkha*, *riccha*, Pālī *ikka*, *accha*, *is(s)a*, Uṛ. (rare) *richa*, Bihārī *rich*, *rikkh*, Hindī *rich*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rich*, Mar. *ris*. Skt. *gr̥hastha* 'householder,' Hindī *grihastha*, Panj. *g(a)risati*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha*.

r > *ur*.

§ 73. The change of *r* to *ur* is frequent only in Pahlavī and New Persian. Elsewhere it is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *barəsa* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barsond*. Av. *perəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*. Av. *perəsahi* 'thou askest,' Old Pers. *patiparsāhy*, Phl. *purst-tanō*, New Pers. *pursidan*, Wāxi, Sarq. *pōrsam*, Afy. *pušt*, Kurd. *pirsin*, Dig. Oss. *farsun*, Tag. *farsin*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afy. *marya*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *mary*.

r > *u*.

§ 74. The change of *r* to *u* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 66, *r* becomes *u* especially in the vicinity of labials.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥thivī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavi*, *puhuvi*, *puhavi*, Pālī *pathavi*, *paṭhavi*, *puṭhuvi*, *puṭhavi*, Old Hindī *puhumi*. Skt. *mṛṇāla* 'lotus-fibre,' Prāk. *muṇāla*, Pālī *mulāla*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *u(d)u*, *riu*, Pālī *utu*, Sindhī *ruti*, Guj. *rut(u)*. Mar. *rutu*. Skt. *vr̥ṣṭi* 'rain,' Prāk. *vuṭṭhi*, *viṭṭhi*, Pālī *vuṭṭhi*. Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'old,' Uṛ. *būṛhā*, *būḍi*, Bang. *budā*, Hindī *budḍhā*, *budhā*, Panj. *budhā*, Sindhī *budhō*, *būdhō*, Guj. *burhō* (cf. § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *par̥sti* 'back,' Phl., New Pers. *pušt*, Wāxi *part*, Māz. *pašt*, N. Bal. *phut*, Kurd. *pīšt*, Zaza *pašt*. Av. *kərənaciti* 'makes,' Pāz. *kunom*, New Pers. *kunad*, Gil. *kudan*, *kardan*, Wāxi *čaram*, Šiy. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin*, Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin* (cf.

also Skt. *akṛṇavam* 'I did,' Old Pers. *akunavam*; Skt. *akṛṇōt* 'did,' Old Pers. *akunauš*, as well as Av. *kərətā* 'done,' Bal. *kut*, N. Bal. *khuḍa*). Av. *vərəḍka* 'kidney,' Phl. *gurtak*, New Pers. *gurdak*, Wāxi *valk*, Bal. *guttiy*. Av. *fratərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarstānō*, Afy. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *trusag*, *tursay*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*.

[Somewhat similar to *r* > *u* is *r* > *ō* before sibilants in Wāxi, e. g. Av. *karšta* 'ploughed,' Wāxi *kōšt*.]

r > *ru*.

§ 75. The change of *r* to *ru* occurs but rarely, and like the change of *r* to *ri* (cf. § 72) it is found only initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *vrkṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *rukḥa*, *rikkha*, *riccha*, *vracha*, Pāli *rukḥa*, Uṛ. *rūkha*, Mar. *rūkh*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*, etc. (see § 69).

r > *ā*.

§ 76. The change of *r* to *ā* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Uṛ. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*.

r > *ī*.

§ 77. The change of *r* to *ī* is found very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Uṛ. *pīṭha*, *pīṭhi*, Bang., Hindi *pīṭh*, etc. (see § 71).

b. Iranian. Av. *paršti* 'back,' Kurd. *pīšt*, *pišt*, etc. (see § 74).

r > *ē*.

§ 78. The change of *r* to *ē* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gṛha* 'house' beside *gēha*, Prāk. *gēha*, Pāli *gēha*, *ghara*, *gaha*, Old Hindi *gēha*, Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*, etc. (see § 67).

b. Iranian. Av. *varəša* 'forest,' Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšah*, Kāš. *viša*, Māz., Tāl. *višē*, Kurd. *viša*.

r > *ō*.

§ 79. The change of *r* to *ō*, like the other developments of

Indo-Iranian *ṛ* considered in the sections immediately preceding, occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā, mūsā*, Pāli *musā* (in like manner Skt. *mṛṣavādin* 'lying,' Prāk. *mōsāvā, mūsāvā*, Pāli *musāvādin*).

ṛ > al

§ 80. In the Indian dialects *ṛ* becomes *al* apparently only in the Māgadhī Prākrit. The Iranian dialects show a few examples of a development of *al* from an original *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛtvā* 'having done,' Prāk. *kariā*, Māg. Prāk. *kaliā*, Bihārī *ka(r)i*, Hindī *kar(i)*. Skt. *dhṛta* 'held,' Prāk. *dharia*, Māg. Prāk. *dhalidē*, Bihārī *dhail, dhail, dhayal* (in this word the Māg. *l* has been elided, while the Māg. *d* has become *l* as in all Bihārī perfect participles).

b. Iranian. Av. *varəḍka* 'kidney,' Wāxi *valk*, etc. (see § 74). Av. *varəka* 'leaf,' Phl. *varg*, New Pers. *barg*, Gab. *varak*, Kāš. *valg*, Māz. *varak*, Gil. *valg, valk*, Judæo-Pers., Kurd. *valg*.

ṛ > r.

§ 81. The change of *ṛ* to *r* seems to occur only after *t* and before vowels, and it is apparently confined to the Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt. *jāmātrka* 'son-in-law,' Prāk. *jāmāua*, Sindhi *jātrō*. Skt. *mātrka* 'maternal uncle,' Prāk. *māua*, Sindhi *mātrē*.

§ 82. Numerous examples may be cited where Indo-Iranian *ṛ* develops into different vowels in the same word in the same period and dialect.

a. Indian. Skt. *trṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *trṇu, tanu, tinu*, etc. (see § 66). Skt. *grha* 'house,' Pāli *ghara, gaha, gēha*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Hindī, Panj., Guj. *maṭṭi, māṭṭi, miṭṭi*, etc. (see § 68). Skt. *vr̥nta* 'stem of a flower,' Prāk. *vinta, venta, vontā*, Pāli *vanta*. Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi, risi*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi, piṭṭhi, puṭṭhi*, Panj. *piṭṭh, puṭṭh*, Guj. *piṭh, puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh, puṭhā*, etc. (see § 71).

Skt. *tr̥ṣṇā* 'thirst,' Pali *tiṇhā*, *taṇhā*, *taṣiṇā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā*, *mūsā*, etc. (see § 79).

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *pr̥daku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, etc. (see § 68). Av. *kərəmaoiti* 'makes,' Gil. *kudan*, *kardan*, etc. (see § 74).

The great variety of changes undergone by Indo-Iranian *r* in the various Indo-Iranian dialects is obvious. Thus the *r* of Skt. *mṛttika* 'earth' > *a*, *i*, *ā*; the *r* of Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' > *a*, *ē*; of Skt. *vṛddha* 'large' > *a*, *u*, *ō*; of Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ā*, *ī*; of Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely' > *u*, *ū*, *ō*. In like manner the *r* of Av. *porasahi* 'thou askest' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ō*; and of Av. *par̥sti* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ī*.

r̄.

§ 83. Indo-Iranian *r̄*, arising from Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *l̄*, stands in Indian in ablaut with *ir*, *ūr* (before consonants), *ir*, *ur* (before vowels), *āri*, *rā* (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i. 22-30; Hirt, *Indogerm. Ablaut*, 48-49, 54-55, 60, 70-71, 76 sqq.). In Iranian the Indo-Iranian *r̄* is represented by *ar* (Bartholomae, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 25). The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects have in general retained without change the old representations of Indo-Iranian *r̄*.

a.-b. Indo-Iranian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'across,' Prāk. *tittha*, *tūha*, Pali *tittha*; Wāxi *tūrt*. Skt. *ūrmi* 'wave'; Av. *varemi*, Sarq. *varm*, Bal. *gvarm*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīraha*, *dīha*, *diggha*, Pali *dīgha*, Sindhi *ḍrighō*; Av. *darəya*, Old Pers. *darga*, New Pers. *dirāz*, Afy. *lārya*, Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāš*, Kurd. *dirtēš*, Zaza *darg*, Oss. *dary*.

l̄.

§ 84. Indo-Germanic *l̄* is lost entirely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, and it disappeared from the Iranian dialects

in the pre-Iranian period. In Old Indian *ḷ* is very rare. The developments of *ḷ* in Middle Indian were analogous to those of *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Prāk. *kilitta*, Pāli *kappita*.

ē = *ē*.

§ 85. Indo-Iranian *ē* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before vowels and single consonants. Before consonant-groups it is to be regarded as short. In Assamese *e* is invariably short.

Skt. *dēva* 'god,' Prāk. *dēa*, Pāli *dēva*, Kāśm. *day*, Uṛ., Bang. *dē*, Hindi *dēō*, *dēu*, Panj., Sindhi *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*. Skt. *prēma* 'love,' Prāk. *pemma*, Pāli *pēma*, New Indian dialects *p(r)ēm*.

b. Iranian. The confusion in New Persian of the *majhul ē* with the *ma}rūf ī* has been noted above, § 85. The Caspian dialects also show this confusion, while the Judæo-Persian, in common with several other Eastern Persian dialects, preserves carefully the distinction between *ē* and *ī*.

Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxi *lv*, Šīy. *dēv*, Sarq. *dēv*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *adairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *ašēr*, Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *štr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *šēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Sāmm. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judæo-Pers. *šēr*, Kurd. *štr*. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēš*, New Pers. *bēd*, Pamir dialects *vid*, Gab. *vid*. Sīv. *vī*, Zaf., Kāš. *vē*, Vön. *vid*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Nat. *vid*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī(h)*.

ē > *a*.

§ 86. The change of *ē* to *a* is not frequent. In Western Bangālī, however, several instances of *a* are found where the Eastern Bangālī keeps the original *ē* unchanged (e.g. Skt. *eka* 'one,' E. Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*).

a. Indian. Skt. *mleccha* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *milicchhu*, Pāli *milakkhu*. Skt. *ekadaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēaraha*, Pāli *ekādasa*,

ekārāsa, Kāśm. *kāh*, Uṛ., Bang. *egāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindi *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārām*, Sindhi *ikārahām*, *yārahām*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *aēśma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēšam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēšam*, Gab. *isma*, Kāś., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēšam*, Kurd. *hašang*.

$\bar{e} > i$.

§ 87. The change of \bar{e} to i is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects the change occurs more frequently in the West than in the East. Among the Iranian dialects the Ossetish regularly develops i from \bar{e} before n .

a. Indian. Skt. *vēdanā* 'pain,' Prāk. *vianā*, *vēanā*, Pāli *vēdanā*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *diara*, *dēvara*, Pāli *dēvara*, Uṛ. *dēyura*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *dēvar*, *dēyar*, Sindhi *ḍeru*, Guj. *dēur*, *dēr*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dēyar*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Hindi *igārah*, *gyārah*, Sindhi *ikārahām*, *yārahām*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prativēśaka* 'neighbouring,' Pāli *paṭivissaka*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēša* 'garden,' Old Pers. *napāḍbeiros*, Phl. *dis*, New Pers. *dis*, *diš*, *dēs*. Phl. *mēhmān* 'guest,' New Pers. *mēhmān*, *mihmān*, Afy. *mēlma*, Kurd. *mēvān*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'good,' Phl. *nēv(ak)*, New Pers. *nēk(ō)*, *nikō*. Av. *axšaēna* 'green,' Phl., New Pers. *xašin*, Šiy. *šōin*, Sarq. *xoin*, Yidg. *axšin*, Afy. *xīn*, *šin*, Kurd. (*ha*)*šin*, Oss. *axsinag*. Skt. *phēna* 'foam,' Dig. Oss. *finkha*, Tag. *finkh*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{a}$.

§ 88. The change of \bar{e} to \bar{a} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kēyūra* 'bracelet,' Pāli *kāyūra*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{i}$.

§ 89. The change of \bar{e} to \bar{i} is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Pāzand and New Persian, where \bar{e} becomes \bar{i} regularly before a nasal.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāli. Prāk.

mēkha, Pali *mēgha*, Hindī *mīnh*, *mēnh*, Panj. *mīnh*, *mīham*, Sindhi *mīnhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnik*, *bēnik*, Pāz. *vinī*, New Pers. *binī*, Sāmn. *vinī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tāl. *vinī*, Kurd. *bēn*, *bivīl*, E. Kurd. *baval*. Av. *axšaēna* 'blue,' Phl., New Pers. *xašīn*, Yidg. *axšīn*, Afy. *xīn*, *šin*, Kurd. (*ha*)*šin*, etc. (see § 87). Av. *daēman* 'glance,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dim*, Šīr., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dē(m)v*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *sapēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sōbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid* (*ai* of secondary development, cf. New Pers. *dēr* 'long,' Sarq. loan-word *dair*), Yidg. *spī*, Kurd. *sipī*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers. *yax*, Wāxi, Šīy. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yayn. *ix*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *ix*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*.

$\bar{e} > \check{d}$.

§ 90. The change of \bar{e} to \check{d} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭāna* 'crown,' Pali *vēṭhana*, Sinh. *voṭunu*, New Sinh. *oṭunna*.

$\bar{e} > ai$.

§ 91. The change of \bar{e} to *ai* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^aaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x^aāi*, New Pers. *x^aai*, Wāxi *xīl*, Sarq. *xaiḍ*, Afy. *x^aalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēḍ*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

$\bar{e} > y$.

§ 92. The change of \bar{e} to *y* is very rare and it occurs only initially. (This *y* is probably really prothetic.)

a. Sanskrit *eka* 'one,' Prak. *ekka*, Pali *eka*, Kāsm. *akk*, Ur., Bang. *eka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindī *ik(k)*, Hindī *ek*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhi *hiku*, (*h*)*ēku*, *hikiḍō*, *hēkiḍō*, Guj. *ek*, *aik*, Mar. *ek*, *yek*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēva* 'one,' Old Pers. *aiva*, Phl. *ēv(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *yak*, Vōn. *yav*, *ikī*, Kuhr. *y*, *ī*, *ik*, Wāxi *ī(v)*, Šīy. *yāw*,

yī, yu, yū, Sarq. *iv, i*, Sangl. *vak*, Minj. *yao*, Afy. *yav*, Bal. *ēyōk*, Kurd. *iki*, Dig. Oss. *yan*, Tag. *yu*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Paz. *yah*, New Pers., Wāxi, Šiy. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, etc. (see § 89).

Aphaeresis of ē.

§ 93. The loss of initial *ē* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēraṇḍa* 'castor-oil tree,' Hindī *rēṇḍī*.

Apocope of ē.

§ 94. Final *ē* is lost in the New Indian dialects in the majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *talē* 'beneath,' Ur. *tal(ē)*, Hindī *talē*, Guj., Mar. *tal, tal*. Skt. *saṃgē* 'with,' Ur. *saṃgē*, Hindī, Panj. *saṃn*, Sindhi *sām*, Guj. *saṃn*, Mar. *saṃgēm*.

The multifarious changes to which a final *ē* is subject in the New Indian dialects may be well illustrated from the modern representatives of Old Indian **paścē* for the Sanskrit *paścāt* 'after.'

Skt. **paścē* 'after,' Apab. Prāk. *pacchat*, Ur. *pachē, pāchu*, Bang. *pichē, pacchē*, Hindī *pāchē, pichē, pāchū*, Panj. *pichē, pichōm*, Sindhi *pōē, puām*, Guj. *pachē, pachī, pachō*.

āi = āi.

§ 95. Indo-Iranian *āi* has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in the Iranian dialects in which *āi* is apparently retained show in reality a change of *āi* to *āy* (cf. § 108).

b. Iranian. Av. *rāi* 'radiance,' New Pers. *rāy*. [New Pers. *rāy* is, however, to be compared rather with Av. gen. sg. **rāyō*.]

āi > aī.

§ 96. The change of *āi* to *aī* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *sāinya* 'soldier,' Prāk. *saīnna, senna*, Pāli *sēniya*.

ai > *i*.

§ 97. The change of *ai* to *i* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhāirya* 'firmness,' Prāk. *dhīra*, *dhijja*, Ur., Sindhi, Guj., Mar. *dhīr*.

ai > *ē*.

§ 98. The change of *ai* to *ē* is the normal one to which *ai* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects, where it is found very frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāila* 'hill,' Prāk., Pali *sela*. Skt. *kāivarta* 'fisherman,' Prāk., Pali *kēvaṭṭa*, Hindi *kēvaṭ*. Skt. *tāila* 'oil,' Prāk., Pali *tella*, New Ind. dialects *tel*. Skt. *gairika* 'red chalk,' Pali *gērika*, Ur. *gēru*, Hindi *gērā*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērā*.

ō = *o*.

§ 99. Indo-Iranian *ō* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In Assamese *ō*, although it is retained in the script, is pronounced *ū*. The New Persian presents the same confusion of the *majhāl* *ō* and the *maṣrūf* *ū* which has already been observed in the case of *ē* and *i* (see §§ 85, 85). The Judæo-Persian, like the majority of the East Iranian dialects, observes carefully the distinction between *ō* and *ū* (cf. § 85).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhōjana* 'food,' Prāk. *bhōṇa*, Pali *bhōjana*. Skt. *yōktra* 'yoke,' Pali *yotta*, Ur., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *jōt*, Sindhi *jōṭō*, Guj. *jōtar*, Mar. *jōt*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rāj*, Caspian dialects *rā*, excepting Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōš*, *rūš*, Wāxi *rauṣ*, Afy. *rvaj*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *rūš*, *rō(š)*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šir., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *guš*, Wāxi *yūš*, *yīš*, Šiyn. *yūš*, Sarq. *yaul* (*au* of secondary development), Yidg. *yā*, Afy. *yvair*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Osa. *yos*, Tāg. *qūs*. Av. *baōiši* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, New Pers. *bō(i)*, Wāxi *vūl*, Sarq. *baō*, Yāyn. *vūd*,

Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōd*, *bōs*, Oss. *bud*. Av. *raoša* 'face,' Phl. *rōd*, New Pers. *rō(i)*, Judaeo-Pers. *rōi*.

$\bar{o} > au$.

§ 100. The change of \bar{o} to *au* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *saokéntavant* 'sulphurous,' Pāz. *sawagand*, New Pers. *saugand*.

$\bar{o} > a$.

§ 101. The change of \bar{o} to *a* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *godhūma*, Ass. *ghēnhu*, Nāip. *gahūn*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(n)hūm*, *gēhūm*, *gheum*, Panj. *gheum*, Sindhī *gēhūm*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Phl. *sōxtanō*, *sōcini-tanō*, New Pers. *sōxtan*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz. *√ sūj*, Sarq. *sauz*, Afy. *sēzal*, *sējal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay* (intrans.), Bal. *sōcag*, N. Bal. *sōšay* (trans.), Kurd. *sōtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sūjin*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *sarōn*, *surīn*, Wāxi *šunj*, Šiy. *šau*n, Sarq. *xaun*, Bal. *sarēn*. New Pers. *pōz* 'parts about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fusik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōza*, *paša*, Bal. *pō(n)z*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, Kurd. *pūz*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finje*, Tag. *fing*.

$\bar{o} > i$.

§ 102. The change of \bar{o} to *i* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Wāxi *yiš*, *yūš*, etc. (see § 99).

$\bar{o} > u$.

§ 103. The change of \bar{o} to *u* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As in all cases of shortening, the phenomenon here discussed occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups.

a. Indian. The change of \bar{o} to *u* in the New Indian dialects occurs more frequently in the West than in the East, although

the Bangālī often has *u* where the other New Indian dialects show *ō*.

Skt. *rōcati* 'shines,' Prāk. *ruccat*, Mag. Prāk. *lōadi*, Pali *ruccati*, *rōcati*. Skt. *jyōtsna* 'moon-lit night,' Prāk. *jōmhā*, Pali *jumhā*. Skt. *ōjas* 'strength,' Jaina Prāk. *uya*, Pali *ōja*. Skt. *lōṭyām* 'in a small water-pot,' E. New Ind. dialects *lōṭiyā*, W. New Ind. dialects *luṭiyā*. Skt., Pali *lōhakāra* 'blacksmith,' Sindhi *luharu*.

Here too may be considered the Kāśmīrī *ō*, *ū* arising from *ō* through the umlaut of a following *ī*, e.g. Kāśm. *brōr* 'tom-cat,' fem. *brōr* (written *brārū*); Skt. *vṛddha* 'large,' Kāśm. *bodd* (written *baḍu*), fem. *būḍ* (written *baḍū*), etc. (see § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf*, New Pers. *kōh*, *kuh*, Kuhr. *kūfun*, mountain Jewish *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak*, N. Bal. *khōfay*, Kurd. *kūwī*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl. New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrik*, Kāš., Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Yidg. *muryah*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, etc. (see § 99). New Pers. *gōšah* 'corner,' Kurd. *gūš*, *gūša*, Bohtani *kuši*.

ō > *ī*.

§ 104. The change of *ō* to *ī* is rather infrequent.

b. Iranian. Some of the New Iranian dialects preserve the transition-grade *ū*.

Phl. *mō(d)*, *mōī* 'hair,' New Pers. *mōī*, Gab. *mūd*, Šīv., Bahb., Nāy., Māz. *mī*, Gīl., Tāl. *mū*, other Caspian dialects *mū*, Bal. *mūd*, *mūd*, N. Bal. *mūd*. New Pers. *tōlah* 'puppy,' Šīv. *tūla*.

ō > *ū*.

§ 105. In Pāzand and New Persian Indo-Iranian *ō* becomes *ū* regularly before *m* or *n* (compare the analogous change in these dialects of *ē* to *ī* before nasals, § 89). In Afyān *ō* becomes *ū* before *n*, but it remains unchanged before *m*. Elsewhere the change is sporadic only.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaona* 'colour,' Phl. *gūn(ak)*, New Pers.

gām(ah), Afy. *γāna*. Av. *haoma* 'Homa-plant,' Phl. *hōm*, Pāz., New Pers. *hūm*, Afy. *ōma*. Av. *saocayahi* 'shalt burn,' Māz., Gil. $\sqrt{sūj}$, Tag. Osa. *sūjin*, etc. (see § 101). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Gab. *rāj*, Tāl. *rōš*, *rāš*, Kurd. *rāš*, *rōš*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *durōy*, *darōy*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *ḍ(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kurd. *rūn*.

$\bar{o} > \bar{e}$.

§ 106. The change of \bar{o} to \bar{e} is found with some frequency.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *rōhita* 'kind of fish,' Ass. *rō*, E. Hindi *rēhū*, Hindi *rōhū*, Panj. *rēhū*, Sinh. *rehe*, *rē*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Ass. *ghēmhu*, Hindi *gēhum*, *ghēum*, *gō(m)hum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhi *gēhum*, etc. (see § 101). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prak., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects *cōr*, excepting Kāśm. *čūr*, Sinh. *hera*, *hora*, Gyp. *cor*.

$\bar{o} > va$.

§ 107. The change of \bar{o} to *va* occurs regularly in Afyān, excepting before *m*, where \bar{o} is retained, and before *n*, where \bar{o} becomes \bar{a} (see § 105).

b. Iranian. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Afy. *γvaiy*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Afy. *rvaj*, etc. (see § 99).

$\bar{a}u = \bar{a}u$.

§ 108. The Indo-Iranian $\bar{a}u$ has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in which $\bar{a}u$ has apparently been retained in the Iranian dialects show in reality a change of $\bar{a}u$ to $\bar{a}v$ (cf. § 95).

b. Iranian. Skt. *nāu* 'ship,' Av. *nāvaya* 'navigable,' Old Pers. *nāviyā* 'fleet' (?), Phl. *nāvicak*, *nāvtāk*, New Pers. *nāv*. [The New Pers. *nāv* is, however, to be compared rather with the Av. gen. sg. **nāvō*.]

āu > au.

§ 109. The change of *āu* to *au* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pāura* 'citizen,' Prāk. *paūra*, Pāli *pōra*.
Skt. *gāurava* 'respect,' Prāk. *gaūrava*, Śaur. Prāk. *gōrava*.
Skt. *māuli* 'garland,' Prāk. *mauli*, Pāli *mōli*.

āu > u.

§ 110. The change of *āu* to *u* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kauksēyaka* 'sword,' Prāk. *kukkheaa*. Skt. *dāwārika* 'porter,' Prāk. *duwāria*, Pāli *dōvārika*. Skt. *cāurya* 'theft,' Prāk. *cōria*, Nāip. *cōri*, Uṛ. *cōri*, Bang. *curi*, Hindi, Mar. *cōri*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Prāk. *ōsukka*, Pāli *ussukka*.

āu > ū.

§ 111. The change of *āu* to *ū* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāurya* 'heroism,' Prāk. *sōria*, Sindhi *sūrihāi*.

āu > ō.

§ 112. The change of *āu* to *ō* is the normal one to which Indo-Iranian *āu* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects. It may also be noted that *āu* in Assamese script is always pronounced *ō*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāumudi* 'moonlight,' Prāk. *kōmui*, Pāli *kōmudi*, Gyp. *comut* 'moon.' Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovvana*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhi *jobhanu*. Skt. *āupamya* 'analogy,' Pāli *ōpamma*. Skt. *gāura* 'pale,' Pāli *gōra*, New Ind. dialects *gōrā*. Skt. *jhāulika* 'pouch,' Uṛ., Bang. *jhālī*, *jhuli*, *jhōli*, Hindi *jhōli*, Guj., Mar. *jhōlī*.

SINGLE CONSONANTS

§ 113. The Indo-Iranian consonants remain for the most part unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The law of spirantization which sharply distinguishes the Iranian from the Indian dialects is still operative, and all phenomena to be discussed in the following chapter must be considered with this fact in mind. The principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian single consonants are in general easily explicable. Common both to the Indian and to the Iranian dialects, although more frequent in the latter, is the change of an original voiced consonant to a voiceless, or the reverse. Aspiration and deaspiration, the loss of a consonant and the subsequent insertion of *y* or *v* in its place to avoid a resultant hiatus, are the most striking changes noted in the Indian dialects. The changes presented by the Iranian dialects in the single consonants are far more sporadic and less regular than those which are found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects a voiceless intervocalic consonant regularly becomes voiced. In general it may be said that the Indian dialects have preserved the original Indo-Iranian vowels more faithfully than the Iranian dialects have, but that, on the other hand, the Iranian consonants have suffered less change than the Indian.

In the following paragraphs will be found in some detail the principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian consonants in the various Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

$$k = k.$$

§ 114. Indo-Iranian *k* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Prāk. *kahat*, *kahēi*, Pāli *kathēti*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kah*, Guj. *kēh*, Sinh. *kiyanavā*. Skt. *eka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *eka*, Kāśm. *akh*, Ur., Bang. *eka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindī *ik(k)*, Hindī *ek*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhī *hiku*, (*h*)*ēku*, *hikiḍō*, *hēkiḍō*, Guj. *ek*, *aik*, Mar. (*y*)*ek*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōk*, Kuhr. *kūfān*, Tāt *kuf*, Afy. *kwab*, Bal. *kōpak* N. Bal. *khofay*, Kurd. *kūh*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Old Pers. *kunavāhy*, Phl. *karṭanō*, New Pers. *kardan*, Wāxi *čaram*, Šiyn. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin* Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin*.

k > *kh*, *x*.

§ 115. In the Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *k* is only sporadic, but the Middle and New Iranian dialects regularly change *k* into the spirant *x* internally between vowels. In North Balūči *k* becomes *kh* regularly initially, and the change occurs uniformly both initially and finally in Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prāk., Pāli *khujja*, Ur. *kūja*, Bang. *ku(m)jā*, *kubjā*, Hindī *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kābā*, Sindhī *kubō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *kubādā*, *khuh*. Skt. *kāsa* 'cough,' Māhār. Prāk. *khāsa*, Pāli *kāsa*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *khāmsi*, *khāmsā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Prāk. *kū(v)a*, Pāli *kūpa*, Kāśm. *khuh*, Ur., Bang. *kūā*, Hindī *kuām*, Panj. *khahā*, Sindhī *khāhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Hindī *kōr*, Guj. *khōlō*. Skt. *sukumāra* 'youth,' Prāk. *sūmāla*, *sukumāla*, Pāli *sukhumāla*, *sukumāra*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxi *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xaf(a)*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargas*, New Pers. *kargas*, Bal. *kargaz*, N. Bal. *khargaz*, Oss. *kharkh*. Av. *ahmākem* 'of us,' Old Pers. *amācam*, New Pers. *mā*, Kāś. (*h*)*ōmō*, *hāmā*, Oss. *max*. GAv. *xsmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yusmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *sumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *niyāka*

'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afy. *nika*, Bal. *nākā*, N. Bal. *nāxō*, fem. *nakh*.

$k > g$.

§ 116. The change of *k* to *g* is not frequent, excepting in the Iranian dialects internally between vowels.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kira* 'parrot,' Sinh. *girā*, *giravā*, *kira*. Skt. *marakata* 'emerald,' Prāk. *maragaya*. Skt. *sakala* 'whole,' Māhār. Prāk. *sayala*, Pāli *sakala*, Bang. *sagun*, Bihārī *sagar*, Hindī *sagun*, *sagrā*, Panj. *sagrā*, Sindhī *sagunū*, Guj. *saglō*, Mar. *sagla*, Sinh. *siyalu*. Skt. *kaka* 'crow,' Prāk. *kāa*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kāg*, Sindhī *kāngu*, Mar. *kāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ka* 'who?' New Pers. *kih*, Wāxi *kui*, *koi*, Šiyn. *kai*, Sarq. *coi*, Bal. *kē*, N. Bal. *khai*, Tūr Kurd. *gō*, Dig. Oss. *kha*, Tag. *ci*, Kamuntī *khi*. Av. *yākara* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *jayar*, Kurd. *jark*, Oss. *igar*. Av. *sukuruna* 'porcupine,' Phl. *sukur*, New Pers. *sugur(nah)*, Gab. *sizur*, Afy. *škōn*, *škun*, Bal. *sikun*, N. Bal. *sizun*.

$k > k_i$.

§ 117. The palatalization of *k* to *k_i* is found in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Kurd. *kuh*, etc. (see § 114). Av. *kata* 'house' Kaš., Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Yidg. *kyē*, etc. (see following §).

$k > c, \check{c}$.

§ 118. The change of *k* to *c* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects *c* or *č* is not infrequently developed from an original *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kirāta* 'name of a degraded tribe,' Prāk. *cila(d)a* (but *kirāya* 'monkey'). Skt. *kunda* 'turner,' Pāli *cunda*. Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Uṛ. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*. Skt. *gōṣṭhika* 'belonging to a village,' Sindhī *gōṭhēcō*.

[Here may be noted the Kaśmīrī change of *k* to *c* in the formation of the feminine, e. g. Kaśm. *bātuk* 'drake,' *bātuc* 'duck.']

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *katak*, New Pers. *kad(ah)*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kīyah*, Vön. *kē*, Kuhr. *kīyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxi *kat*, Šiyn. *čād*, Sarq. *čād*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*. Av. *kərətā* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, N. Afy. *cārah*, Bal. *kārd(a)*, N. Bal. *khārca*, Kurd. *kīr(a)*, Oss. *khard*. New Pers. *kaik* 'flea,' Kurd. *kēc*, *kac*. Av. *ka* 'who?' Sarq. *coi*, Tag. Oss. *cī*, etc. (see § 116). Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōsō*, Wāxi *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sičīn*, N. Bal. *sišin*, *šišan*, *šišin*, *sešin*, Kurd. *šūšin*.

$k > t$.

§ 119. The change of *k* to *t* is very rare. In many of its occurrences it is due to dissimilation.

a. Indian. Skt. *kr̥ṣi* 'agriculture,' Ur. *tāsa*, *cāsa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kakkōla* 'bœllium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Sinh. *takul*.

$k > p$.

§ 120. The change of *k* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jalūkika* 'leech,' Pāli *jalupikā*, *jalūka* (due in this example to dissimilation).

$k > bh$.

§ 121. The change of *k* to *bh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *śikara* 'spray,' Prak. *si(h)ara*, *siḥhara*, Pāli *śikara*. [See now Pischel, § 206.]

$k > y$.

§ 122. The change of *k* to *y* is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*. The phenomenon is far less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Nāip. *narival*, Bang. *nārēl*, Bihārī *nāriyar*, Hindi *nāriyal*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhi *nārēlu*, *nātru*, Guj. *nāriyal*, Mar. *nāraḷ*. Skt. *akāra*

'figure,' Prāk. *agāra*, Māhār. *āyāra*, *ākāra*, Pālī *ākāra*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Uṛ. *kōyīla*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhi *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkil*, Sinh. *kovulla*, Anglo-Ind. *kotl*. Skt. (u)*daka* 'water,' Jaina Prāk. *daga*, Pālī *daka*, *ōka*, Sinh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *cakōra* 'sort of bird,' Eḷu *siyuru*, Sinh. *siyuru*, *sivru*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *māfikan* 'mare,' New Pers. *mādigan*, Bal. *mādyān*, N. Bal. *mādin*, *māsin*.

k > v.

§ 123. The change of *k* to *v*, like that of *k* to *y*, is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *v* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuka* 'parrot,' Pālī *suka*, *suva*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Pālī *nakula*, Uṛ., Bang. *nēul*, Hindī *nēval*, Panj. *nēul*, Sindhi *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Sinh. *kovulla*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Skt. *vikāśatē* 'appears,' Phl. *gukās* 'witness,' Pāz. *guvāh*, *guvāi*, New Pers. *guvā(h)*. Skt. *vikarōti* 'transposes,' Phl. *gukarītanō*, Pāz. *guhārād*, New Pers. *guvārād*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tal. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*.

k > š.

§ 124. The change of *k* to *š* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' N. Bal. *sišin*, *šīšan*, *šišin*, *sēšin*, etc. (see § 118).

k > h.

§ 125. The change of *k* to *h* is rare in the Indian and especially rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phaliha*, *phaliya*, *phaḍia*, Pālī *phalika*. Skt. *śrikā* 'beauty,' Māhār. Prāk. *siriha*. Skt. *nikāśa* 'touchstone,' Prāk. *nihasa*, Jaina Prāk. *nihasa*, *nighasa*,

Pali *nikasa*. Skt. *srjanakāra* 'creator,' Sindhi *sirjanahāru*.
Skt. *akāśa* 'sky,' Prāk. *āyāsa*, Pali *akāsa*, Sinh. *ahasa*, *āsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Kurd. *sah*, etc. (see § 123).

k > *g*, *ḡ*.

§ 126. The change of *k* to *g*, *ḡ* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *suka* 'needle,' Pāz. *sūsan*, *sōsan*, New Pers. *sōsan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōs*, Kurd. *šūfin*, etc. (see § 118).

Aphaeresis of k.

§ 127. The loss of an initial *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pali *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Uṛ. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍal*, Sindhi *kōṛarī*, Guj. *kōḍārō*, Sinh. *udalu*, *udalla*.

Syncope of k.

§ 128. The loss of an internal *k* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, although it is noteworthy that the phenomenon occurs more often in the Middle than in the New period.

a. Indian. Skt. *avakāśa* 'opportunity,' Prāk. *ōśa*, *avayāsa*, Pali *ōkāsa*, *avakāsa*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Uṛ., Bang., Panj. *nēul*, Sindhi *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*, etc. (see § 123). Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Bang. *nārēl*, Panj. *nārēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhi *nārēlu*, *nātru*, Mar. *nāraḷ*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *kōil*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pali *cammakāra*, Uṛ. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindi, Panj. *camār*, Sindhi *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cāmhar*.

Apocope of k.

§ 129. The loss of a final *k* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bāḍaka* 'servant,' Phl. *bandak*, New Pers. *bandah*. Phl. *cārak* 'means,' Pāz. *cāra*, New Pers. *cārah*, Afy. *cāra*, *čara*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*,

Kāś. *aspā*, *asbā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, etc. (see § 123).
Skt. *navaka* 'lad,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lāv*, *lō*, *lau(k)*. Phl. *xānak* 'house,' New Pers. *xānah*, Kurd. *xānī*, Mukri *xānā*.

Epenthesis of k.

§ 130. The insertion of *k* is very rare (merely graphic?).

b. Iranian. Av. *miθaoxta* 'lie,' Phl. *māōkxt*, Pāz. *miđuxt*.

kh = kh.

§ 131. Indo-Iranian *kh* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nakha* 'nail,' Prāk., Pāli *nakha*, Gyp. *nay*. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Prāk. *lihaṭ*, Pāli *likhati*, Kāśm. *lekh*, Hindi *likhnā*, Guj. *lakhavum*, Mar. *lihiñēm*, Sinh. *liyanavā*. Skt. *khara* 'donkey,' Prāk., Pāli *khara*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāṭ*, Pāli *khādati*, Ur. *khāṭā*, Bang. *khāṭe*, Hindi *khānā*, Panj. *khāṇā*, Sindhi *khāṇu*, Guj. *khāvum*, Mar. *khāñēm*, Sinh. *kanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Phl., New Pers. *xar*, Wāxi *xur*, Šiyn. *har*, Sarq. *car*, *sar*, Sangl. *xar*, Minj. *xara*, Yidg. *xuruh*, Afy. *xar*, N. Bal. *khar*, *xar*, Kurd. *k(i)ar*, Zaza *xar*, Oss. *xarag*. Av. *naza* 'nail,' Phl. *nāxān*, New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nāk*, Bal. *nakun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*, Oss. *nix*. Av. *aēza* 'ice,' New Pers. *yax*, Wāxi *yiz*, Šiyn. *yax*, Yidg. *yuz*, Yayn. *iz*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *iz*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afy. *max*.

kh > k.

§ 132. In the Indian dialects the deaspirization of an original *kh* is very rare, but in the later Iranian dialects the phenomenon is somewhat more frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *ku*, lit. Prāk. *khu*, Pāli *khō*, *khalu*. Skt. *kha* 'spring,' Pāli *kā*, *khā*, Gyp. *chev*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Kurd. *k(i)ar*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see preceding §).

kh > *gh*, *γ*.

§ 133. The change of *kh* to *gh*, *γ*, is found occasionally in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkha* 'line,' Prāk. *rēha*, Pāli *rēkha*, Hindi, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhi *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, *rēkh*, Mar. *rēgh*. Skt. *śrīṃkhala* 'chain,' Prāk. *samkala*, *samkhala*, *simkhala*, Pāli *samkhalā*, Kāśm. *hāmhalā*, Ur. *sāmkala*, *sāmkala*, Bang. *śīkal*, *sīkal*, Panj., Sindhi *samghar*, Guj. *sāmkaḷ*, Mar. *sā(m)kaḷ*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śakha* 'twig,' Phl. *śak*, New Pers. *šax*, *šay*.

kh > *c*.

§ 134. The change of *kh* to *c* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *car*, *sar*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > *s*.

§ 135. This change, like the preceding one, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *sar*, *car*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > *h*.

§ 136. The change of *kh* to *h* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although it occurs less frequently in the latter group of languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sakhi* 'friend,' Prāk. *sahi*, Pāli *sakhi*, Sindhi *sahī*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Prāk. *muha*, Pāli *mukha*, Bihārī *mu(n)h*, Hindi *munh*, Panj. *mūmhu*, *muhum*, Sindhi *mumhum*, *mukhu*, Sirh. *muva*, Gyp. *muy*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Šiyn. *har*, etc. (see § 131). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > *y*.

§ 137. The change of *kh* to *y*, like that of *k* to *y* (see § 122), is only apparent.

a. Indian. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Sinh. *liyanavā*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > v.

§ 138. The change of *kh* to *v*, which is, like that of *k* to *v* (see § 123), only apparent, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Sinh. *muva*, etc. (see § 136).

Prothesis of kh

§ 139. Prothetic *kh* is found quite frequently in the Iranian dialects prefixed to words which originally began with vowels.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēšma* 'wrath,' Phl. *xēšm*, New Pers. *xīšm*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiyn. *yurš*, Sarq. *yūrš*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaš*, Kurd. *virç*, *hirc*, *hirs*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Gk. *ᾠόν* 'egg,' Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuc*, Afy. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *haʔik*, *hī*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*. Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxi *yāng*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmay*, Kurd. *xāv*.

g = g.

§ 140. Indo-Iranian *g* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, except for the Iranian law of spirantization which develops *γ* from *g*, unless the *g* is either initial or is preceded by a nasal or a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gadha*, Bihārī, Hindi *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhi *garāhu*, Guj. *gadhēḍō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *jualu*, Pāli *yugala*, Uṛ. *jugala*, Bang., Hindi, Panj., Guj. *jugāl*, Mar. *julā*, *jāl*, *juval*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garmapada*, Phl., New Pers. *garm*, Šiyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gūrm*, *šūrm*, Afy. *yārma*, Bal., Kurd. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *γarm*, Tag. *qarm*. Av. *gau* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gō*, *gav*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxi *γau*, *γū*, Šiyn. *šāv*, Sarq. *šao*, Sangl., Minj. *yao*, Yayn. *gova*, Afy. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Skt. *bhōga* 'joint,' Bal. *bōg*, N. Bal. *bōy*.

$g > k$.

§ 141. The change of the voiced g to the voiceless k is not frequent in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects it is still more rare, excepting in the Tagaurish Ossetish, which has g initially for Indo-Iranian g (Digaurish γ).

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Prāk. *ṇaara*, Māhar. Prāk. *nayara*, Pāśā. Prāk. *nakara*, New Ind. dialects *nāir*, *nēr*, Sinh. *nuvara*, *niyari*. Skt. *maga* 'Magian,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *maka*. Skt. *chagala* 'goat,' Pāli *chakala*. Skt. *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Pāli *ajakara*, *ajagara*. Skt. *garuḍa* 'mythical bird,' Prāk. *garuḍa*, *garuḷa*, *galuḍa*, Pāli *garuḷa*, Eḷu *gurulu*, Sinh. *kurulla*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, Uṛ. *gahira*, Hindi *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhi *gahirō*, Sinh. *gāmburu*, *kumburu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garema* 'warm,' Tag. Oss. *qarm*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šir., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxi *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiyn. *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afy. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

$g > gh, \gamma$.

§ 142. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian g is rare and only sporadic in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects g becomes γ regularly, excepting initially or after a nasal or a sibilant. In the Pāmīr dialects, in Afyān, and in Digaurish Ossetish Indo-Iranian g becomes γ also initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha*, *gēha* 'house,' Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kāśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindi *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gahūm*, Uṛ. *ga(ha)ma*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindi *gō(m)hum*, *gēhum*, *ghēum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhi *gēhum*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juy*, Šiyn. *yuy*, Sarq. *γūγ*, Kurd. *jāk*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Wāxi *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiyn.

yūš, Sarq. *yaul*, Yidg. *yū*, Afy. *yvaiy*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaða* 'thief,' Afy. *yal*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afy. *marya*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *mary*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Saf. *nū*, Nāy. *nāu*, Minj. *nayan*, Cent. Dial. *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *nayan*.

g > y.

§ 143. The change of *g* to *y* is only apparent. The *g* is in reality lost, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the resulting hiatus (cf. §§ 122, 137).

a. Indian. Skt. *jagat* 'world,' Māhār. Prak. *jaya*, Sindhi *jaḡu*, *jaḡatu*. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Māhār. Prak. *nayara*, Sinh. *niyari*, *nuvara*, etc. (see § 141). Skt. *nāga* 'snake,' Prak., Pāli *nāga*, Sinh. *nayā*, *nā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' Phl. *saringūn*, New Pers. *sargūn*, Afy. *saryūn*.

g > v.

§ 144. The change of *g* to *v* in the Indian dialects is only an apparent one, the *v* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of the original *g* (cf. §§ 123, 138). In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the change of *g* to *v* is a real one. The phenomenon does not occur frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Sinh. *nuvara*, *niyari*, etc. (see § 141).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *magu* 'Magian,' Phl. *magū*, *magūpat*, *maṇpat*, New Pers. *muy*, *mōy*, *mōbad*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, etc. (see § 142). New Pers. *xargōš* 'hare' (lit. 'donkey-eared,' Av. **xara-gaoša*), Kurd. *karvaš*.

g > š.

§ 145. The change of *g* to *š* is excessively rare, although it is sometimes found initially in sporadic words in Šīyī and Sāriqolī.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Šiyn. *xāv*, Sarq. *šao*, etc. (see § 140). Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Sarq. *šūrm*, *gūrm*, etc. (see § 140).

g > h

§ 146. The change of *g* to *h* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Pali *bhāginējja*, Sinh. *bāhānā*, *bānā*.

Syncope of g.

§ 147. The loss of an internal *g* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although the New Indian does not suffer syncope of *g* as frequently as do the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāgadheya* 'share,' Prāk. *bhāadēha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bhāya*, Pali *bhāga*. Skt. *syāla* 'jackal,' Prāk. *siāla*, Pali *sigāla*, Uṛ. *śiāla*, *śēāla*, Bang. *siāl*, Sinh. *hivāla*. Skt. *agata* 'arrived,' Māg. Prāk. *aade*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'two-fold,' Prāk. *duuṇa*, Pali *diguṇa*, Hindi, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhi *ḍaṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *bhagini* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahinī*, *bhaiṇī*, Pali *bhagini*, Uṛ. *bhāunī*, *bhaūṇī*, Bang. *bain*, Hindi *bahin*, Panj. *bhāin*, *bāimh*, Sindhi *bheṇu*, Guj. *bēhen*, Mar. *bahin*, *bhāin*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *jualu*, Mar. *juḷā*, *juḷ*, *juval*, etc. (see § 140).

b. Iranian. Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *durōy*, Māz. *darā*, Tāl. *dā*, Sarq. *durā*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*, Kurd. *darāv*, *darau*. Av. *ci* 'what?' + *gaona* 'kind,' Phl. *cigun(ih)*, New Pers. *cigunah*, *cūn*.

gh = gh.

§ 148. Indo-Iranian *gh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Hindi *ghaḍa*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*, Gyp. *khōrō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maṭya* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *mēy*, Dig. Oss. *mēya*, Tag. *mīy*.

gh > k.

§ 149. The change of *gh* to *k* occurs very rarely as a final in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašmaoya* 'destroying righteousness,' Phl. *ahramōk*. Av. *daya* 'conflagration,' Phl. *dāy*, New Pers. *dāy*, Bal. *dāg*, N. Bal. *dāy*, Kurd. *dak*.

gh > kh.

§ 150. The change of *gh* to *kh* occurs regularly in Paisāci Prakrit.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāś. Prāk. *mēkha*, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindī *mēnh*, *mīnh*, Panj. *mīnh*, *mīham*, Sindhi *mīnhu*.

gh > g.

§ 151. The deaspirization of *gh* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Kāśmīrī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghōṭaka* 'horse,' Prāk. *ghōḍaa*, Pāli *ghōṭaka*, New Ind. dialects *ghōra*, but Kāśm. *gur*^a, Gyp. *garō*. Skt. *vighaṭate* 'perishes,' Pāli *vighaṭeti*, U_r, Bang. *bigaḍa*, Hindī, Panj. *bigaḍ*, Sindhi *bigiḍ*, Guj. *bagad*, Mar. *bighaḍ*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *ruhyul* 'chatter,' Kurd. *gālagāl*, *galgāl*.

gh > h.

§ 152. The change of *gh* to *h* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *laghu* 'light,' Prāk., Pāli *lahu*, Sinh. *lahu*, *luhu*. Skt. *araghaṭṭa* 'well-wheel,' Hindī, Panj. (a)*rahat*, Sindhi *ar(a)ḥu*, Guj. *rēmṭ*, Mar. *rahāṭ*. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Hindī *mēnh*, *mīnh*, Panj. *mīnh*, *mīham*, Sindhi *mīnhu*, etc. (see § 150).

b. Iranian. Av. **baya-stāna* 'abode of God,' Old Pers. *rō Baylotavov ḡpos*, Pāz. *bay*, New Pers. *bahistān*, *bahistān*, *bistān*.

Syncope of gh.

§ 153. The loss of Indo-Iranian *gh* internally is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raγa* nom. prop., Old Pers. *raga*, Phl. *rak*, *rāi*, New Pers. *rai*.

ɾ, ṛ

§ 154. Of the Middle and New Indian dialects the Sindhi, Assamese, and Nāipālī alone have retained *ɾ, ṛ*, pronounced *ɾg* and *ṛḡ*. In the rest of the New Indian and in all the Iranian dialects *ɾ* and *ṛ* have been lost. The Sindhi *ɾ* and *ṛ* are of secondary development in the majority of their occurrences.

c = c.

§ 155. Indo-Iranian *c* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although in the latter group internal Indo-Iranian *c* is rare, excepting in Pahlavī and Balūči.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāri*, *caturo*, Pāli *catu*, Uṛ., Bang. *cāri*, Kāśm. *čōr*, Hindī, Panj. *cār*, Sindhi *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*. Skt. *nīcē* 'beneath,' Uṛ., Bang. *nīca*, Hindī *nīcā*, Panj. *nīcōm*, Sindhi, Guj. *nīcē*, Mar. *nīc*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Siv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš. *Vōn. cam*, Kuhr. *caš*, Samn., Māz. *cas*, Grīl. *ciš*, Wāxi *cōšm*, Šiyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*. Av. *caxra* 'wheel,' Phl. *caxr*, New Pers. *carx*, *cahr*, Kāš. *cōrā*, *čr*, Dig. Oss. *calx*. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Old Pers. *ciθ'a*, Phl. *ciθrē*, *cihr(ak)*, New Pers. *cihr(ah)*, Afy. *čīra*, *šīra*, Kurd. *cāra*.

c > č.

§ 156. The change of the palatal *c* to the affricative *č* is very rare in the Indian dialects, excepting in Kāśmirī, Kafirī, and East Bangālī. In early tadbhavas, dēśajas, and before non-palatal

vowels the Marāṭhī pronounces *c* as *č*, and *j* as *ǰ*, but before the palatal vowels *ī*, *ē*, in tatsamas and late tadbhavas the old sounds of *c* and *j* are retained. The Iranian dialects show few instances of a change of *c* to *č*, excepting in the Persian dialects and in Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Kāśm. *čōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kaf. *māč* 'man,' Sindhi *mācu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *catwārō* 'four,' Phl. New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxi *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yidg. *čtr*, Afy. *čalōr*, Bal. *cār*, N. Bal. *cyār*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Šiyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pazēt*, New Pers. *pasad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxi *pōcam*, Afy. *pazavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bazazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fičun*, Tag. *fičin*.

c > ch.

§ 157. The change of *c* to *ch* is found initially in North Balūči.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' N. Bal. *cham*, etc. (see § 155).

c > j.

§ 158. The change of the tenuis *c* to the media *j* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. It is, on the other hand, common between vowels in the Persian dialects, where the New Persian shows *s* (see § 167).

a. Indian. Skt. *acalā* 'earth,' Prak. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *ajalā*, Māhār. Prak. *ayalā*. Skt. *sruc* 'ladle,' Pali *suja*. Skt. *māca* 'glass,' Mar. (vulg.) *māj*.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Phl. *sōcēm*, Pāz. *sōsēt*, New Pers. *sōsam*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Grl. *√sāj*, Sarq. *sauš*, Afy. *sējal*, *sošjavul*, *sēsāl*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *suĵin*. Av. *haca + adairi* 'from beneath,' Phl. *ašēr*, Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *sēr*, Šir. *šī*, Zaf. *fēr*, other Central

dialects *jir*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *šer*, Kurd. *šir*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *vaocat* 'spoke,' Phl. *vāc(ak)* 'voice,' New Pers. *vāš*, *bāj*, Gab. *vivaji*, Zaf. *vāš*, Kāš. *vōj*, Vōn. *bōja*, Kuhr. *bavōji*, Nāy. *ūvāj*.

$c > \check{j}$.

§ 159. The change of *c* to *j* is excessively rare. Cases of it are found in Afyān and Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Afy. *sējal*, *svaj-avul*, *sēzal*, Dig. Oss. *sōfun*, Tag. *sūjin*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(īh)*, New Pers. *rōš*, Gab. *rāj*, Sīv. *rōša*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Tāl. *rōš*, *rūš*, Afy. *rvāj*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *rūš*, *rō(š)*.

$c > \check{t}h$.

§ 160. The change of *c* to *th*, like all other changes in which the cerebrals are concerned, is confined to the Indian dialects. It is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *caṅcu* 'beak,' Uṛ. *thaṇṭ*, *thomṭ*, Bang. *thōmṭ*, *cōmṭ*, Hindi *thōmṭh*, *cōmc*, Guj. *cāmc*, Mar. *cōmc*.

$c > t$.

§ 161. The change of *c* to *t* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *cikitsā* 'cure,' Jaina Prak. *tegičchā*, Pali *tikicchā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Kāš. *patan*, Kurd. *pātin*, etc. (see § 156). Old Pers. *cišciy* 'anything,' New Pers. *ciš*, Kurd. *tišt*.

$c > \check{t}h, \theta$.

§ 162. The change of *c* to *th*, *θ*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *caṅcu* 'beak,' Uṛ. *thaṇṭ*, *thōmṭ*, etc. (see § 160).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Bayazid Kurd. *pāthin*, etc. (see § 156).

$c > d$

§ 163. The change of c to d occurs with extreme rarity excepting in Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prak. *āyariya*, Pāli *ācāriya*, Sinh. *ādura*, Maladive *eduru*. Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Prak. *mucāṭ*, Māhār. Prak. *muyāṭ*, Pāli *muñcati*, Sinh. *mudanavā*.

$c > y$.

§ 164. The change of c to y is only an apparent one, y being inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the syncope of c (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143).

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prak. *āyariya*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Māhār. Prak. *muyāṭ*, etc. (see preceding §).

$c > s$.

§ 165. In Assamese and West Hindi c is always pronounced s . The Sinhalese often changes c to s , which may further develop into h . Of the Iranian dialects the Afyān shows the development of s from c most frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prak., Pāli *cakka*, Ass. *cāk* (pron. *sāk*), Uṛ. *caṭ*, E. Hindi *cāk*, W. Hindi *cakṭi* (pron. *sakṭi*), Panj. *cakk*, Sindhi *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Sinh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *pacati* 'cooks,' Pāli *pacati*, New Ind. dialects \sqrt{pac} , Sinh. *pāsavanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Afy. *šira*, *čira* (see § 155).

$c > š$.

§ 166. The change of c to $š$ occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *aš*, *š(i)*, Wāxi, Sarq. *š*, Afy. *š*, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *aš*, *š(a)*. Phl. *nācuk* 'tender,' New Pers. *nācuk*, Kuhr. *naštār*. Phl. *(h)ēc* 'ever,' Pāz. *hēc(i)*, New Pers. *(h)ēc*, *hēš*, Kāš. *ēc*. Av. *raocah*

'day,' Sīv. *rōšā*, N. Bal. *rōš*, etc. (see § 159). Phl. *cōp* 'wood,' New Pers. *cōb*, Šīr. *cōy*, Wāxi *šōkk*, Sarq. *xaib*, Kurd. *cō*, Amarlū *šiv*.

c > s.

§ 167. The change of *c* to *s* is made regularly in New Persian between vowels, after *r*, and finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *tacaiti* 'runs,' Phl. *tācēt*, *tāseēt*, New Pers. *tāsād*, Wāxi *tōcam*, Sarq. *tašam*, Afy. *tašal*, Bal. *tacag*, N. Bal. *thašay*, Dig. Oss. *thajin*. Av. *raucah* 'day,' New Pers. *rōs*, etc. (see § 159). Av. *sacaiti* 'follows,' Phl. *sāxtanō*, New Pers. *sāsād*, Kāš. *basōj*, Judæo-Pers. *sāsād*.

c > š.

§ 168. The change of *c* to *š*, which is closely akin to that discussed in the preceding paragraph, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *hucithra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucihr*, New Pers. *hujir*, *xujir*, *hušir*. Av. *raucah* 'day,' Tal. *rōš*, *rūš*, Kurd. *rūš*, *rōš*, *rō*, etc. (see § 159). Old Pers. *καπλση* 'measure for wheat,' Phl. *kapic*, New Pers. *hašš*, *kavā*.

c > h.

§ 169. The change of *c* to *h* is made, as already noted in § 165, through the transition-grade *s*. It is not of common occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Sinh. *hak*, *sak*, etc. (see § 165). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects and Gyp. *cōr*, Sinh. *hora*, *hera*.

c > č.

§ 170. The change of *c* to *č* is found occasionally in the North Balūč.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašwārō* 'four,' N. Bal. *cyār*, etc. (see § 156).

Syncope of c.

§ 171. The loss of Indo-Iranian *c* occurs not infrequently in the

Indo-Iranian dialects. It is more common in the Middle than in the New Indian period. In the Iranian dialects, where the syncope is found least often, *c* is lost only in the vicinity of long vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *vacana* 'voice,' Prāk. *vaṇa*, *vacana*, Pali *vacana*, Sindhi *vacanu*. Skt. *sūci* 'needle,' Prāk. *sū*, Pali *sūci*, Uṛ., Bang. *sūci*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *sū*, Guj. *sōy*, Mar. *suī*, Gyp. *su*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Caspian dialects *rū*, Kurd. *rō*, *rōš*, *ruš*, etc. (see § 159).

ch = *ch*.

§ 172. It is only in the Indian dialects that *ch* occurs. Here, however, it is in general preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{chap} 'go' (?), Uṛ. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē* 'to conceal,' *ṭēpitē*, Hindi *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā* 'to print, to squeeze,' *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā* 'to bury,' Sindhi *chāpanu*, *cāpanu* 'to shampoo,' *ṭapuḍānu*, *ṭhapanu*, Mar. *chāpanēm*, *cāpaṭāṇēm*, *ṭāp*, *ṭhapakā*, Anglo-Indian (*first*) *chop*, *shampoo*.

ch > *c*.

§ 173. The deaspirization of *ch* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{chap} 'go' (?), Bang. *cāpitē*, *chāpitē*, Hindi *cāmpānā*, *chāpanā*, Sindhi *cāpanu*, *chāpanu*, Mar. *cāpaṭāṇēm*, *chāpanēm*, etc. (see preceding §).

ch > *ṭ*.

§ 174. The change of *ch* to *ṭ* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{chap} 'go' (?), Uṛ. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *ṭēpitē*, Hindi *ṭīpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *tōpanā*, Sindhi *ṭapuḍānu*, *ṭhapanu*, Mar. *ṭāp*, *ṭhapanu*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *ṭh*.

§ 175. The change of *ch* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{chap} 'go' (?), Hindi *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *ṭō-*

panā, tōpanā, Sindhi ṭhapaṇu, ṭapudaṇu, Mar. ṭhapaṭā, ṭap, etc. (see § 172).

ch > t.

§ 176. The change of *ch* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. $\sqrt{\text{chap}}$ 'go,' Hindi *tōpanā, ṭōpanā, ṭipana, ṭhapanā, etc.* (see § 172).

ch > s.

§ 177. Many New Indian dialects, especially Assamese, Bangali, and Marāṭhi, as well as the others in sporadic instances, pronounce or write *s* instead of *ch*.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥chati* 'asks,' Prāk. *pucchat*, Pāli *pucchati*, Uṛ. *pūchanā, pacāra*, Bang. *puchitē*, Hindi *pūchanā*, Panj. *pucch*, Sindhi *puchanu*, Guj. *puchavun*, Mar. *pusanēm*.

With this change of *ch* to *s* may perhaps be compared the cases where Iranian *s* = Indian *ch*, e.g.

Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāyā, chāā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Uṛ. *chāhina*, Hindi *chām(v), chām̐h, chāom̐*, Panj. *cā(u)m̐*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *cāmy* : Av. *asaya*, Phl. *sāyak*, New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sā*.

j = j.

§ 178. Indo-Iranian *j* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṃgha* 'leg,' Prāk., Pāli *jaṃgha*, Nāip. *jān*, Bang. *jāmgī*, E. Hindi, Hindi *jāmg̐h*, Panj. *jāmg̐h*, Sindhi *jaṃgh*, *jaṃgh*, Guj., Mar. *jaṃghā, jāmg̐h*, Gyp. *cang*. Skt. *bhrātṛjāyā* 'brother's wife,' Uṛ., Bang. *bhāūja*, Hindi *bhātj, bhāvaj, bhāūjī, bhōjāī*, Sindhi *bhōjāī*, Mar. *bhāvajāī*. Skt. *bhrātṛja* 'nephew,' Hindi, Panj., Guj. *bhātjā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *san*, Gab. *jan, yan(ak)*, Stv. *kin*, Zaf. *kan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan, jin, yan, kan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *kanikō*, Šiyn. *jin*, Sarq. *jin, kin*, Minj. *kinga*, Afy. *jinaī, jānaī, jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *kin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *jainti* 'kills,' Old Pers. *ajanam*, Phl. *sanēt*, New Pers.

sanad, Zaf. *bašint*, Kaš. *jidān*, Kuhr. *jindamūn*, Šiyn. *šinam*, Sarq. *sanam*, Afy. *šanam*, Bal. *janag*, Kurd. *sanin*. Old Pers. *bāji* 'tribute,' New Pers. *bāj*, *bās*, *bāš*. Phl. *barējan* 'oven,' New Pers. *barējan*, Bal. *brijag*, *brējag*.

$j > gh, \gamma$.

§ 179. The change of *j* to *gh, \gamma*, is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Šiyn. *γin*, Sarq. *γin*, *šin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$j > c$.

§ 180. The change of the media *j* to the tenuis *c* is regular in Pāśāci Prakrit according to the well-known rule of this dialect that all mediae or mediae aspiratae become tenues or tenues aspiratae. Elsewhere the change is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prak. *rāa*, Mahār. Prak. *rāyā*, Pāś. Prak. *rācā*, Pali *rājā*, New Ind. dialects *rāa*, *rāv*, except Sinh. *rada*, Maladive *radung*, Gyp. *ray*. Skt. *vrajati* 'wanders,' Prak. *vaccat*, Pali *vajati*. Skt. *kambōja* 'Cambodia,' Prak. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *kambōca*.

$j > jh$.

§ 181. The aspirization of an original *j* is a phenomenon of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt., Pali *janagala* 'wild,' Old Hindi *janagar*, New Ind. dialects *janagali*, except Ass. *janoghal*, Sindhi *jhangali*. Skt., Prak., Pali *jana* 'person,' Bang. (Malda) *jhan*, Gyp. *jenō*.

$j > d$.

§ 182. The change of *j* to *d* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian dialects, and it is the regular change to which an original *j* is subject in Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prak. *jihā*, *jibbhā*, Pali *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *eoō*, New Ind. dialects *jibh* (Sindhi *jibh*), Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dā*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *jugupsati*

'despises,' Prāk. *du(g)ucchaṭ*, *du(g)umchaṭ*, *jhunaṭ*, *juucchaṭ*, Pali *jigucchati*. Skt. *tējas* 'glory,' Prāk. *tēu*, Māhār. Prāk. *tēya*, Pali *tēja*, Sinh. *tēda*.

j > y.

§ 183. The change of *j* to *y* is in the Indian dialects only an apparent one, *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164). In the Iranian dialects an actual change of *j* to *y* is found, but it is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *samaja* 'herd,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *samaya*. Skt. *gaṇa* 'elephant,' Prāk. *gaya*, *gaa*, Pali *gaja*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Gab. *yan(āk)*, *jan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *yan*, *jan*, *jin*, *kan*, Nāy. *yanah*, etc. (see § 178).

j > v.

§ 184. The change of *j* to *v*, like that of *j* to *y* in the Indian dialects, is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājānah* 'of a king,' Prāk. *rāṇō*, Śāk. Prāk. *lāvāṇō* (cf. also § 180). [See now Pischel, §§ 399–400.]

j > z.

§ 185. In the Iranian dialects the change of *j* to *z* is very frequent. In the Indian dialects, however, it is only in the North East, particularly in Assamese, Kāśmīrī, vulgar Bangālī (Rājbarhāt and Eastern), and Bihārī, that *j* is pronounced *z*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kāśm. *zē*, etc. (see § 182). Skt., Prāk., Pali *jala* 'water,' Ass., Kāśm., vulgar Bang., Bihārī *jal* (pron. *sal*), Sindhī *jaru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *javiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jiwāhy*, Phl. *stwas-tanō*, New Pers. *zistan*, Kāš. *vasandō*, *jiga*, Afy. *švand(ān)*,

Kurd. *šin*, *šīn*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *šan*, etc. (see § 178). Kurd. *vējār* 'this time,' Bohtani *vēsūr*. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *saifar*, *safr*, New Pers. *šarf*, Judæo-Pers. *sōrf*, Afy. *šavar*, Bal. *juhl*, N. Bal. *jahl*, Kurd. *šōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

j > *š*.

§ 186. The change of *j* to *š*, which is closely akin to the one discussed in the preceding paragraph, is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Stv. *šin*, Zaf. *šan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *šan*, *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, Samn. *šanikō*, Sarq. *šin*, *šin*, Minj. *šinga*, Kurd. *šin*, etc. (see § 178). Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Afy. *švand(ān)*, Kurd. *šīn*, *šin*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *jafra* 'deep,' New Pers. *šarf*, Afy. *šavar*, Kurd. *šōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *drājah* 'length,' Phl., Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāš*, Kurd. *dirtš*.

Syncope of j.

§ 187. The loss of an original intervocalic *j* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, New Ind. dialects *rāā*, *rāc*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viana*, Hindi *benā*. Skt., Pali *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Mar. *ār*.

jh = *jh*

§ 188. Original *jh* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects, and it is lacking altogether in the Iranian languages. In the majority of instances in the Indian dialects original *jh* is preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhampa* 'leap,' Mar. *jhēmp*.

jh > *j*.

§ 189. The deaspirization of *jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhalla* 'name of a degraded caste,' Jaina Prāk. *jalla*.

jh > *z*.

§ 190. In Assamese an original *jh* is written *j*, which is pronounced *z* (cf. § 185). Similarly the resultant *jh* of the Kāśmīrī is pronounced *z*.

a. Indian. Ass. *jāl* 'pungency' (pron. *sal*), Bang. *jhaluyā*, Hindi *jhal*.

ṭ = *ṭ*.

§ 191. All cases in which cerebral letters are concerned are confined to the Indian dialects. Indian *ṭ* is preserved unchanged in the great majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *truṭati* 'comes apart,' Prak. *tuṭṭaṭ*, *tōḍaṭ*, Ur. *tōḍanā*, Bang. *tōḍāṭṭe*, Sindhi *tōḍanu*, Guj. *tuṭavum*, *tōḍavum*, Mar. *tuṭanēm*, *tōḍanēm*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prak. *kapāṭa*, Ur., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Hindi, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. *√c(h)uṭ* 'to cut off,' New Ind. dialects *√chuṭ*, but also Hindi *chōṛ*, Mar. *suṭ*, *sōḍ*.

ṭ > *ḍ*.

§ 192. The change of the tenuis *ṭ* to the media *ḍ* is the most frequent one to which Indian *ṭ* is subject. In the East New Indian dialects *ḍ* often interchanges with *ṛ* and this *ṛ* itself may further develop into *r*. No distinction is here made between *ḍ* and *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṭavi* 'forest,' Apab. Prak. *aḍaṭ*, Pali *aṭavi*. Skt. *bhaṭa* 'soldier,' Prak. *bhaḍa*, Apab. *bhaḍu*, Pali *bhaṭa*. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prak. *ghaḍa*, Pali *ghaṭa*, Hindi *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍi*. Skt. *kṛṣa* 'worm,' Prak. *kṛḍa*, Pali *kṛṣa*, Ur., Bang., Hindi *kṛḍā*, Sindhi *kṛḍō*, Guj. *kṛḍō*, Mar. *kṛḍ*, *kṛḍā*, Gyp. *kiri*. Skt., Pali *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Ur. *karai*, *kahrāi*, *kaḍhei*, Bang. *kaḍ(āi)*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *kaḍāhi*, Guj. *kaḍhā*, *kaḍhai*, Sinh. *kulāva*.

ṭ > *ḍh*.

§ 193. The rare change of *ṭ* to *ḍh* seems to occur more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saṭā* 'mane,' Prak. *saḍhā*. Skt. *śaṭaṭikā*

'cart,' Prāk. *sayaḍhā*, Śaur. Prāk. *saaḍiā*, Pāli *sakaṭa*. Skt. *kāṣṭhabha* 'name of a demon,' Prāk. *kēḍhava*. Skt. *akṣapāṭa* 'arena,' E. Hindi *akharh*, Hindi *akhārā*, Mar. *akhāḍā*.

‡ > t.

§ 194. The decerebralization of Indian ‡ to t occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭumbaka* 'house-holder,' Pāli. Prāk. *kutumbaka*, *kuṭumbaka*, Pāli *kuṭumbaka*, *kuṭimbaka*.

‡ > p.

§ 195. The change of ‡ to p is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karōṣi* 'pot,' Pāli *kalōpi*.

‡ > r.

§ 196. The change of ‡ to r (cf. § 192) is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Uṛ. *karat*, *kahrāt*, *kaḍhēi*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Panj. *cērā*, *cēlā*, etc. (see following §).

‡ > l.

§ 197. The change of ‡ to l is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phalika*, *phaḍiḥa*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *karkaṭaka* 'crab,' Jaina Prāk. *kakkaḍa*, Pāli *kakkaṭaka*, Sinh. *kakuluwā*, *kakuluwā*. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Sinh. *kulāva*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Prāk. *cēḍa*, Pāli *cēṭaka*, Uṛ., Bang. *cēlā*, Hindi *cēlā*, *cēḍā*, Panj. *cēlā*, *cērā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cēlō*, Mar. *cēlā*.

‡ > ḷ.

§ 198. The change of ‡ to ḷ occurs especially in Sinhalese, where l and ḷ are used indiscriminately, although the Maladive distinguishes sharply between l and ḷ.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāṭa* 'peak,' Prāk. *kāḍa*, Pāli *kāṭa*, Sinh. *kūḷu*. Skt. *sphoṭati* 'bursts forth,' Prāk. *phuṭṭat*, *phuḍat*, Pāli

phuṭati, Hindi *phūṭ*, Panj. *phuṭī*, other New Ind. dialects *phuṭ*, except Sinh. *poḷanavā*.

ṭh = ṭh.

§ 199. The retention of *ṭh* without change is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *maṭha* 'college,' Prāk. *maḍha*, Mar. (dimin.) *maḍhi*, other New Ind. dialects *maṭh*.

ṭh > ṭ.

§ 200. The deaspirization of *ṭh* is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kūṭhāri* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Pali *kūṭhāri*, Ur. *kuṭāri*, *kuhrari*, *kuṭāḍi*, Bang. *kurhid*, *kurhāḍi*, Bihārī, Hindi *kulhāri*, *kuhāḍa*, Panj. *kuhāḍa*, *kumthārā*, *kulhāḍa*, Sindhi, Guj. *kuhārō*, Mar. *kurhāi*, *kurhār*.

ṭh > ḍ.

§ 201. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍ* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Pali *piṭha*, Bang. *pimḍā*, Hindi, Panj. *piḍhā*, Sindhi *pēḍahi*, Guj. *pēḍhi*, Mar. *pūṭ*. Skt. *paṭhana* 'reading,' Ur. *padhibā*, Bang. *padhite*, Hindi, Panj. *padhanā*, Sindhi *padahanu*, Guj. *padharum*, Mar. *padhanēm*.

ṭh > ḍh.

§ 202. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍh* is the most common one of all those to which Indian *ṭh* is subject. It is especially characteristic of the Western dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Hindi, Panj. *piḍhā*, Guj. *pēḍhi*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kūṭhāri* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Bang. *kurhid*, *kurhāḍi*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' Prāk. *padhai*, Pali *paṭhati*, Ass. ✓ *parh*, Bang. *par*, New Ind. dialects *padh*, *parh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*.

$\text{ṭh} > \text{ṛh}, \text{rh}$.

§ 203. The change of ṭh to ṛh , rh , is especially characteristic of the Eastern dialects, while the Western dialects, as noted in the preceding paragraph, tend to the change of ṭh to ḍh .

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bang. *kuṛhād*, *kuṛhāḍi*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' New Ind. dialects *parh*, *paḍh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{ṭh} > \text{l}$.

§ 204. The change of ṭh to l is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *anākōṭha*, *anākōḷ(ḷ)a* 'name of a tree,' Prāk. *amkōlla*, Pali *amkōla*, Guj., Mar. *amkōl*.

$\text{ṭh} > \text{lh}$.

§ 205. The change of ṭh to lh is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindi *kulhāri*, *kuhāḍā*, Panj. *kulhāḍā*, *kumlhārā*, *kuhāḍā*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *kuṭhara* 'sugar-mill,' Māg. Prāk. *kuḍhalē*, Bihārī *kōlha*.

$\text{ṭh} > \text{h}$.

§ 206. The change of ṭh to h is one of extreme rarity in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindi *kuhāḍā*, *kulhāri*, Panj. *kuhāḍā*, *kulhāḍā*, *kumlhārā*; Sindhi, Guj. *kuhārō*, etc. (see § 200).

$\text{ṭh} > \text{hr}$.

§ 207. The change of ṭh to hr is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Ur. *kuhrāri*, *kuṭāḍi*, *kuṭārī*, etc. (see § 200).

$\text{ḍ} = \text{ḍ}$.

§ 208. Indian ḍ is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Prāk. *pīḷaṇa*, *pellāṇa*, Pali *pīḷana*, Hindi *peḍanā*, *pēlanā*, Panj. *pīḍhanā*, *pēḷanā*, *vēlanā*, Sindhi *pīḍaṇu*, *pīṛaṇu*, Mar. *pīḷaṇēm*.

$\check{d} > \check{t}$.

§ 209. The change of \check{d} to \check{t} occurs regularly in the Paisāci Prakrit.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaḍiṣa*, *baḍiṣa* 'fish-hook,' Prak. *baḍisa*, *balisa*, Pāś. Prak. *vaṭisa*, Pāli *balisa*, Hindi *balia*.

$\check{d} > d$.

§ 210. The decerebralization of Indian \check{d} occurs very rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. $\sqrt{\text{dāp}}$ 'to collect,' Ur. *dabibā*, Bang. *dābana*, Hindi *dābanā*, *dabāṛ*, *dabēl*, Panj. *dabbāṇā*, Sindhi *dabaṇu*, Guj. *dābavum*, Mar. *dabanēm*.

$\check{d} > \check{r}, r$.

§ 211. The change of \check{d} to \check{r}, r , is particularly characteristic of the East New Indian dialects. Such an \check{r} developed from an original \check{d} may often become r , and indeed in Hindi \check{r} and r are interchangeable. In the West New Indian dialects, however, \check{d} is generally retained unchanged, and it seldom becomes \check{r}, r (cf. §§ 202, 208).

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Sindhi *pīraṇu*, *pīḍaṇu*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pāli *ulumpa*, Sinh. *oru(va)*, Maladive *oḍi*.

$\check{d} > l$.

§ 212. The change of \check{d} to l is one of the most frequent of all those to which Indian \check{d} is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *dāḍima*, *dālīma*, Prak. *ḍālīma*, Pāli *dālīma*, Hindi *dārim*, Sindhi *ḍārhum*. Skt. *kṛīḍati* 'plays,' Prak. *kīlāt*, Apab. Prak. *kīladi*, Pāli *kīlāti*. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prak. *sōḷaha*, Jaina Prak. *sōḷasa*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, *sōraha*, Kāśm. *surāh*, Ur. *sōhaḷa*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindi *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhi *sōrahām*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōḷā*.

$\check{d} > l$.

§ 213. The change of \check{d} to l , which is closely akin to the change discussed in the preceding paragraph, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *piḍana* 'pressure,' Mar. *piḷanēn*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pali *uḷumpa*, etc. (see § 211). Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Apab. Prāk. *kōlaū*, Guj. *kōḷo*. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *soḷaha*, Jaina Prāk. *soḷasa*, Pali *sōḷasa*, Panj. *sōlām*, Guj. *sōḷ*, Mar. *sōḷā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\dot{d}h > \dot{r}h$

§ 214. The change of $\dot{d}h$ to $\dot{r}h$ is quite common in the New Indian dialects, especially in the Eastern languages (cf. §§ 202, 203, 211).

a. Indian. Skt. *māḍha* 'fool,' New Ind. dialects (except Bang., Mar.) *māṛhu*.

$\dot{d}h > r$

§ 215. The change of $\dot{d}h$ to r occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *māḍhatva* 'folly,' Prāk. *māḍhattaṇa*, Hindi *mārakhapan*, Panj. *mārakhapunā*.

$\dot{d}h > \dot{l}, \dot{lh}$

§ 216. The change of $\dot{d}h$ to \dot{l}, \dot{lh} , is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvōḍha* 'bridegroom,' Bang. *dulīn*, *dulāi*, Hindi *dulhā*. Skt. *udvāḍhā* 'bride,' Hindi *duthin*, Guj. *dulāhi*.

$\dot{d}h > \dot{l}, \dot{lh}$

§ 217. The change of $\dot{d}h$ to \dot{l}, \dot{lh} , is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dr̥ḍha* 'firm,' Prāk. *daḍha*, Pali *daḷha*, Sinh. *daḷa*.

$\dot{n} > n$

§ 218. The change of \dot{n} to n is not frequent in the Indian dialects, excepting in the Pāśāci Prakrit, where it occurs regularly.

a. Indian. Skt. *guṇagaṇayukta* 'equipped with a host of virtues,' Pāśā. Prāk. *guṇaganajutta*. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *b(ṛ)amana*, lit. Prāk. *bāmhaṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *bambhaṇa*, Pali *brāhmaṇa*.

$\dot{n} > \dot{l}, \dot{l}$

§ 219. The change of \dot{n} to \dot{l}, \dot{l} is excessively rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāṇija* 'merchant,' Prāk. *vāṇi(j)a*, Sinh. *velamāḍā*, *veṇamda*.

$t = t$.

§ 220. Indo-Iranian *t* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting for the Iranian spirantization of *t* to *θ* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pali *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōmth*, *ṭhōr*, Hindī, Panj. *tōmḍ*, Guj. *dumḍ*, Mar. *tōmḍā*, *tumḍ*, *tund*, *dōmḍ*. Skt. *jyōti* 'light,' Pālī *jōti*, Hindī *jōṭ(i)*, Panj. *jōtana*, Sindhi *jōṭ(i)*, Guj. *jōt*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *udu* (Śaur. and Mag.), *uu*, *riu*, Pali *utu*, Sindhi *ruti*, Guj. *rut(u)*, Mar. *rutū*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *rautah* 'river,' Phl. *rōt*, New Pers. *rōd*, Bal. *rōt*, Kurd. *rō*. Av. *tanu* 'body,' Phl., New Pers. *tan*, Wāxi *tan*, Šīyn. *tana*, Afy. *tan*, Oss. *thanag*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Gab. *tašna*, Wāxi *tax(i)*, Šīyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Av. *paitidāta* 'seen,' Phl. *diṭō*, New Pers. *didah*, Bal. *dāta*, Kurd. *dīt*.

$t > i$.

§ 221. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *t* is very rare. The stages in this development were probably *t* to *d*, to *ḍ*, to *i*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *kaṭak*, New Pers. *kadah*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vōn. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxi *kat*, Šīyn. *ḱid*, Sarq. *ced*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*, Yaṣn. *kat*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brāṭar*, *brāt*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barāi*, *barō*, Gīl. *brār*, Wāxi *vrūt*, Šīyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yaṣn. *virāt*, Afy. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāθ*, Kurd. *barā*, *virād*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Wāxi *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*.

$t > g$.

§ 222. The change of *t* to *g* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātars* 'fire,' Phl. *ataš*, New Pers. (ā)*taš*, *atiš*,

Gab. *taš*, Šiyn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*.

$t > c$.

§ 223. The change of *t* to *c* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiṣṭhati* 'stands,' Prāk. *ciṭṭhadi*, *ciṭṭhat*, *ṭhāṭ* (cf. also *ciṭhitu* 'let him stand,' inscriptions of Dhauli), Pālī *tiṭṭhati*, *ṭhāti*, Uṛ. *cidā*, *thāz*, Hindī, Panj. *thē*, Sindhī *thiē*, Guj. *thāy*, Mar. *thēṇēm*.

[Here we may perhaps note the change of *t* to *č* in Kāśmīrī under the influence of a following *i* in the formation of the feminine, e.g., Kāśm. *mot* 'foolish,' fem. *mūč* < **moti*.]

$t > ṭ$.

§ 224. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *t* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. It is especially common in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt., Pālī *tilaka* 'sectarial mark,' Uṛ., Bang. *ṭika*, Hindī *ṭikā*, Panj. *ṭikkā*, Sindhī *ṭiko*, Guj. *ṭilu*, *ṭilī*, *ṭilo*, Mar. *ṭikā*, *ṭilā*. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paṭi*, *paḍi*, Pālī *paṭi*. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Ass. *tām*, Kāśm. *trām*, Uṛ., Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmbā*, *tāmā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbu*, *trāmbun*, Mar. *tāmbēm*, Sinh. *tāmbara*.

$t > ṭh$.

§ 225. The change of *t* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōṁṭh*, *ṭhōr*, etc. (see § 220). Skt. *vytti* 'business,' Prāk. *vaṭṭi*, Sindhī *vaṭhi*.

$t > ḍ$.

§ 226. The change of *t* to *ḍ* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, being much more common than the change of *t* to *ṭ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *patati* 'falls,' Prāk. *paḍaṭ*, Pālī *patati*, Uṛ. *paḍikā*, Bang. *paḍanā*, Hindī *paranā*, Sindhī *pavanu*, Guj. *paḍavun*, Mar. *paḍaṇēm*, *paraṇēm*, Gyp. ✓ *per*. Skt. *patākā* 'banner,' Prāk. *paḍāyā*, Jaina Prāk. *paḍāgā*, Pālī *patākā*. Skt. *takṣan* 'carpenter,' Sindhī *ḍakhanu*.

$t > th, \theta$.

§ 227. The change of t to th, θ , is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, apart from the change of t to θ according to the Iranian law of spirantization and excepting th developed from t in North Balūči and Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *trpyati* 'rejoices,' Prak. *thippat*. Skt. *āpāta* 'path,' Pāli *āpātha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tāpayeiti* 'warms,' Phl. *tāftanō*, New Pers. *tābad*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tōvūn*, Wāxi *θavam*, Šiyn. *tabam*, Sarq. *θavam*, Afy. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thap*, *thaf*, Kurd. *tāv*, Dig. Oss. *thaft*, Tag. *thavin*. Av. *tərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsītanō*, New Pers. *tarsīdan*, Afy. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *tursay*, *trusag*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*. Av., Old Pers. *dāta* 'law,' Phl. *dāt*, New Pers. *dād*, Bal. *dāta*, N. Bal. *dāθa*, *dāsā*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brāθ*, *brās*, etc. (see § 221).

$t > d$.

§ 228. The change of the tenuis t to the media d is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tataḥ* 'thence,' Māhār. Prak. *tattō*, Śāur. Prak. *tadō*, Apab. Prak. *dat*, Pāli *tatō*. Skt. *tāvat* 'so long,' Śāur. Prak. *dāva*, Pāli *tāva*. Skt. *gata* 'gone,' Śāur., Māg. Prak. *gaḍē*, Pāli. Prak. *gata*, Apab. Prak. *gaḍu*, Pāli *gata*, Sinh. *giya*, Gyp. *gelo*. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Māg. Prak. *kaḍē*, *kaḍē*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prak. *kala*, Pāli. Prak. *kata*, Apab. Prak. *kidu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Old Hindi *kīya*, Bihārī *kaṭh*, *kāil*, *kayal*, Sindhi *kiō*. Skt. *uta* 'or,' Prak. *ua*, Pāli *uda*. Skt. *tē* 'of thee,' Prak. *dē*, *tē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vad*, Šiv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vön., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vad*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Oss. *vād*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' New Pers. *birādar*, Šiyn. *virūd*, Sarq. *vṛūd*, Sangl. *vurūd*, Kurd. *virūd*, *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*, etc. (see § 221). Av. *vāti* 'willow,' Phl.

vēt, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vid*, Siv. *vi*, Zaf. *vē*, Vön. *vid*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Afy. *vala*, Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī*. Av. *tava* 'of thee,' New Pers. *tū*, Afy. *tā*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*.

t > y.

§ 229. The change of *t* to *y* in the Indo-Iranian dialects is only an apparent one, *y* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an intervocalic *t* (see §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183).

a. Indian. Skt. *itara* 'other,' Prāk. *iara*, Mahār. Prāk. *iyara*. Skt. *kātara* 'coward,' Apab. Prāk. *kāyaru*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Guj. *kāyar*, Mar. *kāvarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab., Siv. *māya*, Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vön. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gfl. *māar*, *mör*, Tāl. *mā*, Tāt. *mōi*, Šiyn. *mad*, Minj. *māyā*. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Gab. *par*, Kāš. *pai*, Nāy. *pi*, *payi*, Šiyn. *pad*, Sarq. *pit*, Afy. *plār*, Bal. *pit*, N. Bal. *phis*, *phiθ*, Dig. Oss. *fida*, Tag. *fid*.

t > r.

§ 230. The change of *t* to *r* (in the Indian dialects through the transition-grades *d*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptati* 'seventy,' Prāk., Pālī *sattari*, Nāip. *sattari*, Kāśm. *satat*, Uṛ. *sattōri*, Bang., Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *sattar*, Sindhī *satari*, Guj. *sitēr*, Mar. *sattar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Tāt. *vār*, etc. (see § 228).

t > l.

§ 231. The change of *t* to *l* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Afyān, where *t* regularly becomes *l*, unless the *t* is protected by a voiceless consonant.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Bihārī *katl*, *kāil*, *kayal* (similarly in all perf. part. in Bihārī), etc. (see § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *pitar* 'father,' Afy. *plār*, etc. (see § 229). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see § 228).

$t > v$.

§ 232. The change of t to v is only apparent, v being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic t (cf. §§ 123, 133, 144, 184). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātapa* 'sunshine,' Pali *ātāpa*, Sinh. *av(u)va*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *māā*, Pali *mātar*, Hindi *mā(t)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māūh*, *mānu*, *mā(t)*, Sindhi *māū*, Elu *mava*, Sinh. *ma(vu)*, *mā*.

$t > s$.

§ 233. The change of t to s is excessively rare, excepting in Sinhalese and North Balūci.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pali *tuccha*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāta* 'law,' N. Bal. *dāsā*, *dāṭa*, etc. (see § 227). Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brās*, *brāṭ*, etc. (see § 221).

$t > h$.

§ 234. The change of t to h is very rare, excepting in Sinhalese, where the h is a further development of the s arising from an original t (see preceding §).

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pali *tuccha*, Sinh. *his*, *sis*.

Syncope of t.

§ 235. The loss of Indo-Iranian t is quite frequent both in the Middle and in the New periods of the Indo-Iranian languages. The syncope occurs more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects, and more commonly in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caūṭṭha*, *caūṭṭha*, *cottha*, Ur. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindi, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāunthā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *saa*, *sayā*, Pāli. Prāk. *sata*, Pali *sata*, Kāśm. *hath*, Ur. *śaē*, Bang.

śaya, Bihārī *sāu*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhi *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*. Skt. *pitar* 'father,' Prak. *piā*, Pali *pitar*, Hindī *piu*, Panj. *piā*, Sindhi *piu*, Sinh. *piya*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prak. *māā*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *māmu*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhi *māū*, Sinh. *mā*, *ma(u)*, etc. (see § 232).

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vōn. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *māar*, *mōr*, Tal. *mā*, Tāt. *mōi*, etc. (see § 229). Skt. *jūta* 'swift,' Phl. *sūt*, New Pers. *sūd*, Māz. *sī*, Tal., Tāt. *sū*, Bal. *sūt*, *sīt*, N. Bal. *sō*, Kurd. *sū*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Siv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Māz. *vā*, Afy. *vō*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, etc. (see § 228).

Epenthesis of t.

§ 236. Epenthetic *t* is an extremely rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asī*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōśa*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. (*h*)*istīr*, *asr*.

th = th.

§ 237. Indo-Iranian *th* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *mathana* 'churning,' Bang. *mathana*, *māṭhā*, Hindī *mathanā*, *mahanā*, *maṭhā*, Sindhi *mathanu*, Guj. *mathavun*, *maṭhō*, Mar. *ma(m)thanēm*, *māthan*. Skt. *yūtha* 'herd,' Māhār. Prak. *jūha*, Pāli *yūtha*, Hindī *jūth*, *jathā*, Panj. *jūh*, Guj. *jathō*, Mar. *jathanēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pēn*, *pahan*, *pan*, Afy. *plan*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, Kāš. *gūs*, Wāxi *gū*, *gī*, Šiyn. *yaθ*, Yāyn. *yūṭ(ah)*, Afy. *yul*, N. Bal. *gō*, Kurd. *gū*. Av. *fraθanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, Dig. Oss. *ithinjūn*, Tag. *thinjin*.

th > ṭh.

§ 238. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *th* occurs rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*, Ass. *pōnar*, Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindi, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhi *paharyōm*, *pihir(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhalum*, Mar. *pahilā*, Sinh. *palamu*.

th > *ḍh*.

§ 239. The change of *th* to *ḍh* is more frequent in the Indian dialects than the simple cerebralization of an original *th*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śithila* 'slack,' Prāk. *siḍhila*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Ur. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīlā*, Hindi *dhilā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhi *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, Guj. *ḍhilum*, Mar. *ḍhilā*. Skt. *mēṭhi* 'post,' Prāk. *mēḍhi*, Mar. *mēḍhi*, *mēḍhā*.

th > *t*.

§ 240. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *th* is excessively rare, except in Baltic.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *kathā* 'tale,' Bang. (Burdwan) *katā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *fraṣanjoyeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *maēṭhana* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, Bal. *mētag*.

th > *ḍh*.

§ 241. The change of *th* to *ḍh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *atha* 'thus,' Śaur., Pāśā. Prāk. *aḍha*, Pāli *atha*. Skt. *tathā* 'so,' Śaur. Prāk. *taḍhā*, Pāli *tathā*. Skt. *vyathayati* 'trembles,' Pāli *vedhati*.

th > *y*.

§ 242. The insertion of *y* to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *th* is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229).

a. Indian. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, Pāli *ratha*, Sinh. *riya*.

th > *l*.

§ 243. The change of *th* to *l* is excessively rare, excepting in Afyān.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Afy. *plan*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Afy. *γul*, etc. (see § 237).

th > *ḷ*.

§ 244. The change of *th* to *ḷ* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Sinh. *paḷamu*, etc. (see § 238).

th > *h*.

§ 245. The change of *th* to *h* is by far the most frequent one of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *th* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *athavā* 'or,' Prāk. *ahavā*, Apab. *ahavāi*, inscriptions of Girnar, Dhauli, and Khālsi *ahō*, Pāli *athavā*. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, etc. (see § 242). Skt. *kathana* 'speech,' Prāk. *kahana*, Pāli *kathana*, Uṛ. *kahibā*, Bang. *kahitē*, Hindi *kahanā*, Panj. *kahinā*, Sindhi *kahanu*, Guj. *kēharum*. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindi, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhi *paharyōm*, *pihir(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhelō*, *pēhalum*, Mar. *pahilā*, etc. (see § 238). Skt. *gāthā* 'song,' Prāk. *gāhā*, Pāli *gāthā*, Old Hindi *gāhā*, Sindhi *gāi*. Skt. *pṛth(i)vi* 'earth,' Prāk. *puhavi*, *puhuvi*, *puḍhavi*, Pāli *pathavi*, *puthavi*, *puthuvi*, *paṭhavi*, Old Hindi *puhumi*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēθana* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, etc. (see § 240). Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pahan*, *pan*, *pēn*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gaēθanqm* 'of creatures,' Phl., New Pers. *gēhān*.

d = *d*.

§ 246. Indo-Iranian *d* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *dasa*, Śaur. Prāk. *daha*,

Pali *dasa*, Kāśm. *daha*, U_r., Bang., Bihārī, Hindi *das*, Panj. *das*, *dah*, Sindhi *ḍah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Pali *dasati*, U_r. *damkibā*, *daṁś*, Bang. *daṁś*, *ḍaṁś(ā)*, Hindi *daṁś(ak)*, *ḍāṁśik*, Sindhi *ḍaṁgaṇu*, Mar. *daṁś*, *ḍaṁcaṇēm*, *damkhaṇēm*, *ḍaṇaṇēm*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Prāk. *jaṭ*, Jaina Prāk. *jati*, Pali *yadi*, Hindi *jad*, *jē*, *jō*, Panj., Sindhi *jē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Paz. *andīmāni*, New Pers. *dim*, Štr., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēma*. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Wāxi *dūndūk*, Šiyn., Sarq. *dandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *dhanthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Oss. *dandag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pā*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxi *pūd*, Šiyn. *pād*, Sarq. *paḍ*, Sangl. *pud*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yayn. *puda*, Afy. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phās*, Zaza *pai*.

d > i.

§ 247. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *d* through the transition-grade *ḍ* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pā*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Zaza *pai*, etc. (see preceding §).

d > kh, x.

§ 248. The change of *d* to *kh, x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Iran. **ni* + √*dub* 'to hide,' New Pers. *nihūftan*, Kurd. *nixiftin* (very doubtful).

d > g.

§ 249. The change of *d* to *g* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadrughna* 'good for leprosy,' Pali *gaddūhana* (the change of *d* to *g* in this word is due to dissimilation from the second *d* and assimilation to the following *gh*).

d > jh.

§ 250. The change of *d* to *jh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *ḍhi(y)ā*, Śaur. Prāk.

dhada, *dhida*, Pali *dhita*, *dhītara*, Ass. *ji*, Ur. *jhia*, Bang. *jhi*, Hindi, Panj. *dh(yā)*, Sindhi *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dh(yā)*.

$d > ḍ$.

§ 251. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *d* is found quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dahati* 'burns,' Prāk. *ḍahat*, Pali *ḍahati*, Hindi *ḍah*, *dah*, Sindhi *ḍah*. Skt. **hṛdaka* 'hearty,' Māg. Prāk. *haḍakka*. Skt. *dāta* 'messenger,' Jaina Prāk. *ḍāya*, Pali *dāta*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Bang. *ḍamś(ā)*, *damś*, Hindi *ḍāmik*, *damś(ak)*, Sindhi *ḍamgaṇu*, Mar. *ḍamcanēm*, *ḍasanēm*, *damkhanēm*, *damś*, etc. (see § 246). Skt. *pravāda* 'narrative,' Pali *pavāda*, Hindi, Sindhi *pavār*, Guj. *pavāḍ*, Mar. *pavāḍā*. Skt. *dōla* 'swing,' Prāk. *ḍōla*, Pali *dōla*, Bihārī *dōr*, *dōr*, Hindi *ḍol(ā)*, *ḍolī*, *dol(ā)*, *dolik*, Panj., Sindhi *ḍolī*, Guj. *ḍōlī*, *ḍōlavum*, Mar. *ḍōlā*, *ḍolī*, *ḍōlā*, *dolī*, Anglo-Ind. *dooly*.

$d > t$.

§ 252. The change of the voiced *d* to the voiceless *t* is regular in the Pāṣāṇī Prākṛit, but elsewhere it is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *durgā* 'name of Parvatī,' Pāṣ. Prāk. *tukkā*. Skt. *pradeśa* 'district,' Pāṣ. Prāk. *patēsa*, Pali *padēsa*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Jaina Prāk. *jati*, etc. (see § 246).

$d > th$.

§ 253. The change of *d* to *th* occurs very rarely in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *dadaiti* 'gives,' Phl. *dātanō*, New Pers. *dādan*, Samn. *dam*, Māz. *hādīa*, Gīl. *fandi*, Tāl. *diah*, Wāxi *roḍān*, Šīyn. *ḍiam*, Sarq. *dām*, Afy. *lal*, Bal. *dēag*, N. Bal. *dēay*, Kurd. *dān*, Dig. Oss. *dadthun*, Tag. *daththin*. Av. *darəya* 'long,' Old Pers. *darga*, Afy. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*, but Oss. *tharqus* 'hare' (lit. 'long-ear,' cf. New Pers. *darāzgoš* 'hare, donkey').

$d > dh$, $ḍ$.

§ 254. The aspirization of an original *d* is found both in the

Indian and in the Iranian dialects apart from the regular change in Iranian of *d* to *ð* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhū(y)ā*, Śaur. Prāk. *dhādā*, *dhidā*, Pali *dhita*, *dhītara*, Hindi, Panj. *dhū(yā)*, Sindhi *dhīu*, *dhīy*, Guj. *dhū(yā)*, etc. (see § 250). Skt. *dr̥m̐hita* 'firm,' Jaina Prāk. *dhaṇiya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxi *das*, *las*, Šiyn. *ðis*, *lis*, Sarq. *ðes*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yayn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *dadaiti* 'gives,' Wāxi *radān*, Šiyn. *ðiam*, Sarq. *ðām*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Wāxi *pūd*, Šiyn. *pād*, Sarq. *pað*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, etc. (see § 246). Av. *xʷadā* 'sweat,' Phl. *xʷedē*, *xʷai*, New Pers. *xʷai*, Wāxi *xil*, Sarq. *xaid*, Afy. *xʷalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēð*, Kurd. *xū*, *xōh*, *xoi*, Oss. *xad*.

d > *n*.

§ 255. The change of *d* to *n* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvāzdahum*, Afy. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*.

d > *y*.

§ 256. The change of *d* to *y* is only apparent, the *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229, 242). The phenomenon is much more infrequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khādita* 'eaten,' Prāk. *khāra*, Māhar. Prāk. *khāya*, Pāli *khayita*, Panj. *khādā*, Guj. *khādho*, Mar. *khāllā*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hiaya*, *hīaa*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass. Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiatm*, Sindhi *hinunū*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (y)ilō. Skt. *ādēsa* 'order,' Pāli *ādesa*, Old Bihārī *āyesu*, *āesu*, *āyasu*, *ātsu*. Skt. *pāda* 'foot,' Prāk. *pāa*, Māhar. Prāk. *pāda*, Hindi *pā(m)v*, Panj. *pā(m)v*, *pāum*, Simh. *paya*, *piya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' New Pers. *xāyad*, Kurd.

xān. Phl. *xadā(k)* 'saliva,' New Pers. *xayā*, *xadā*. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Šīyn., Sarq. *vāyām*, Kurd. *bāhiv*, *bāv*.

$d > r$.

§ 257. The change of d to r is not a frequent one.

a. Indian. Skt. *tādṛśa* 'such,' Prāk. *tārīsa*, Pāś. Prāk. *tātīsa*, Pāli *tādīsa*. Skt. *etādṛśa* 'such,' Māhār. Prāk. *eyārīsa*, *ērīsa*, Pāli *ērīsa*, *edīsa*. Skt. *gadgada* 'stammering,' Prāk. *gaggara*. Skt. *ekadaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēārāha*, Pāli *ekarasa*, *ekadasa*, Kāśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *egāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindi *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārām*, Sindhi *ikārahām*, *yārahām*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

$d > l$.

§ 258. The change of d to l is quite frequent in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare indeed in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadamba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *kalamba*. Skt. *prādīpta* 'kindled,' Prāk. *palīva*, *palitta*, Māhār. Prāk. *palīviya*, Jaina Prāk. *palitta*, Bihārī *palit*. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala*, *dōhala*, *dōhāḍa*, Pāli *dōhala*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Wāxi *las*, *das*, Šīyn. *lis*, *dis*, Yidg. *lus*, Afy. *las*, etc. (see § 254). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Afy. *pal*, etc. (see § 246). Phl. *x'atāi* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šīyn., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*, Mukri *xola*. Av. *frangadaiti* 'hastens forth,' Afy. *syali*.

$d > l$.

§ 259. The change of d to l is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala*, *dōhāḍa*, *dōhala*, Pāli *dōhala*.

$d > v$.

§ 260. The change of d to v is only apparent, v being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original

intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadaṭi* 'plantain,' Prāk. *karali*, *kayali*, *keli*, Pali *kadaṭi*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kayalā*, *kēlā*, Sindhi *kayalā*, *kēlā*, dimin. *kēviḍo*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, Sinh. *kehel*, *kesel*.

d > h.

§ 261. The change of *d* to *h* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadaṭi* 'plantain,' Sinh. *kehel*, *kesel* (*s* by false analogy), etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *pādika* 'quarter,' Uṛ. *pāhi*, Bang. *pāi*, Hindī *pāi*, Anglo-Ind. *pie*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *badām* 'almond,' Kurd. *bāhv*, *batv*, etc. (see § 256).

Syncope of d.

§ 262. The syncope of Indo-Iranian *d* is less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects. In Iranian the loss of *d* occurs especially in the Persian dialects and in Kurdish.

a. Indian. Skt. *naḍi* 'river,' Prāk. *ṇaṭi*, Pali *naḍi*, New Ind. dialects *naḍi*, W. Bang. also *laḍi*. Skt. *kadaṭi* 'plantain,' Prāk. *keli*, *kayali*, *karali*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Sindhi *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, etc. (see § 260). Skt. *khādana* 'meal,' Prāk. *khāṇa*, Pali *khādana*, Uṛ. *khāibā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khānā*, Sindhi *khāinu*, Guj. *khāvūn*, Mar. *khāṇēm*. Skt. *śarad* 'autumn,' Prāk. *saraa*, Māhār. Prāk. *saraya*, Pali *sarada*, Sindhi *saraṭi*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *naḍāram* 'I have not,' Māz. *nārmah*, Gil. *nāramah*, but *badām* 'I give.' Skt. *padika* 'traveller,' Phl. *paik*, New Pers. *paig* (cf. Māhār. Prāk. loan-word from New Pers. *pāikka*).

Epenthesis of d.

§ 263. The epenthesis of *d* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcadaśa* 'fifteen,' Prak. *paññaraha*, Pali *pañcadasa*, Kāśm. *pandāh*, Ur. *pandhar*, Bang. *pōnera*, Bihārī *pandarāh*, Hindi *paṁdrah*, Panj. *paṁdarāṁ*, Sindhi *paṁdraham*, *paṁdhrāṁ*, Guj. *paṁdar*, Mar. *paṁdharā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāna* 'grain,' Phl. *dānak*, New Pers. *dānah*, Sarq. *dāna*, Kurd. *dandak*, *dānak*.

dh = *dh*.

§ 264. Indo-Iranian *dh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Prak., Pali *dhavala*, Ur., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindi *dhāulā*, Sindhi *dhāumrō*, Guj. *dhōlum*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhavāl*. Skt. *dhāvaka* 'washerman,' Ur., Bang. *dhōbā*, *dhōpā*, Hindi *dhōbō*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Māhār. Prak. *khuhā*, Pali *khudā*, Hindi *khudhā*, Panj. *khuddhiā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōt*, New Pers. *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Wāxi *vul*, Sarq. *bāo*, Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōš*, *bōš*, Oss. *bud*.

dh > *ḍ*.

§ 265. The change of *dh* to *ḍ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prak. *ḍhiṭṭha*, *ḍhaṭṭha*, Nāip. *dhūntō*, Hindi, Panj. *ḍhiṭh*, Sindhi *ḍiṭhu*.

dh > *ḍh*.

§ 266. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is not found very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prak. *ḍhiṭṭha*, *ḍhaṭṭha*, Hindi, Panj. *ḍhiṭh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *√dhakk* 'destroy,' Prak. *ḍhakkat*, Ur. *ḍhakanā*, *dhāṁkanā*, Bang. *ḍhakit*, Hindi *ḍhakkā*, Panj. *dhakkā*, Sindhi *ḍhakaṇu*, *dhikō*, Guj. *ḍhāṁkavum*, Mar. *dhāṁkaṇēm*.

dh > *t*.

§ 267. The change of *dh* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prak. *dharaṭ*, Pali *dhāreti*, Simh. *terenavā*, *daraṇava*, Gyp. *√ther*.

dh > *d*.

§ 268. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is the most frequent change to which it is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dharmā* 'virtue,' Prāk., Pali *dhamma*, Kāśm. *daram*, Elu *daham*, Sinh. *dam*. Skt. *dhattura* 'thorn-apple,' Kāśm. *dattur*, Ur. *dhuturā*, *dhudurā*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *dhātūrā*, Sindhi *dhātūrō*, Guj. *dhātūrō*, Mar. *dhātūrā*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Pali *khudā*, etc. (see § 264). Skt. *madhu* 'mead,' Māhār. Prāk. *mahu*, Pali *madhu*, Hindi *mad*, *madhu*, Sindhi *madu*, Mar. *madhu*, Gyp. *mōl*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhāmāti* 'blows,' Phl., New Pers. *dam*, Dig. Oss. *dumun*, Tag. *dimin*. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōr*, Gab. *būd*, Bal. *bōd*, Oss. *bud*, etc. (see § 264).

dh > *bh*.

§ 269. The change of *dh* to *bh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sam̐nirundhati* 'impedes,' Pali *sannirun̐bhati*, *sannirun̐hati*.

dh > *y*.

§ 270. The change of *dh* to *y* is only apparent, *y* being really introduced to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *dh* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256). The phenomenon is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhura* 'sweet,' Māhār. Prāk. *mahura*, Pali *madhura*, Sinh. *miyuru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō*, Judæo-Pers. *bayōg*, Kurd. *būk*. Av. *mađu* 'wine,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Oss. *mud*.

dh > *l*.

§ 271. The change of *dh* to *l* is quite rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥hagōdhikā* 'lizard,' Pali *gharagōlikā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Wāxi *vul*, etc. (see § 264).

dh > *v*.

§ 272. The change of *dh* to *v* is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of *dh* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232, 260).

a. Indian. Skt. *tuḍadhāra* 'balance-holding,' Sinh. *tulavaru*.

dh > *h*.

§ 273. The change of *dh* to *h* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āṣadhi* 'drug,' Prāk. *ṣaḥa*, *ṣaḍha*, Pali *ṣadhi*. Skt. *sādhu* 'good,' Prāk. *sāhu*, Pali *sādhu*, Bihārī *sāh*, Sindhi *sāu*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Pali *badhira*, Uṛ. *bahirā*, Bang. *bahērā*, Hindi *bahirā*, Sindhi *bōrō*, *bōḍō*, Guj. *bēhērō*, Mar. *bahirā*, Sinh. *bihiri*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pali *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gāhum*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindi *gō(m)hum*, *gēhum*, *ghēum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhi *gēhum*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*. Skt. *vadhu* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahu*, Pali *vadhu*, Uṛ. *bahu*, Bang. *batu*, Hindi *ba(h)u*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhi *vahū*, *bōhu*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū*.

Syncope of dh.

§ 274. The loss of *dh* occurs only rarely in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Uṛ. *gama*, *gahama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Hindi *ghēum*, *gēhum*, *gō(m)hum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *vidu*, *vidava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vīa*, *vīga*, *bīvā*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *idaḡ*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *adairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *ašer*, Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *šēr*, Stv. *šī*, Zaf. *šēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judæo-Pers. *šēr*, Kurd. *šīr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

n = *n*.

§ 275. Indo-Iranian *n* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although in Middle Indian an original *n* is usually cerebralized to *ṇ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Prāk., Pāli *nāman*, New Ind. dialects *nām(v)*, Gyp. *anav*, *nav*. Skt. *nāmayati* 'bows,' Prāk. *ṇāmēi*, Pāli *nāmēti*, Uṛ. *nuhāt*, Bang. *nām*, *nuya*, Hindi *nā(v)*, Panj. *nivā*, Sindhi *nashvā*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāli *sināna*, *nāhāna*, Hindi *nhānā*, Panj. *nhātūnā*, Guj. *nahāṇ*, Mar. *nahāṇ*, *nāhaṇēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *naṃan* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxi *nung*, Afy. *nām*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*. Av. *nairya* 'virile,' Phl. *nērōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīrō*, Šiyn. *nīr*, Sarq. *niar*, Sangl. *narāk*, Yidg. *nar*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz. *nō*, New Pers. *nō*, *nav*, Šiyn. *nau*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afy. *nau*, *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *san*, Gab. *jan*, *yan(āk)*, Sīv. *šin*, Zaf. *šan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, *šan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *šanikō*, Šiyn. *yin*, Sarq. *yin*, *šin*, Minj. *kinga*, Afy. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, *jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *šin*, Zaza *jan*.

$n > \hat{n}$.

§ 276. The change of *n* to \hat{n} is confined to the Sindhi, which alone preserves *ṇ*, \hat{n} , pronounced *ɲg* and *nɛ* respectively (see § 154).

a. Indian. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Prāk., Pāli *thana*, Uṛ., Bang. *thana*, Hindi *thān*, Panj. *than*, Sindhi *thaṇu*, *thaṇu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*. Skt. *mānana* 'respect,' Hindi *mannā*, Sindhi *maṇaṇu*.

$n > \eta$.

§ 277. The cerebralization of *n* is very frequent in the Middle Indian dialects. Vararuci, ii. 42, goes so far as to postulate a change of *n* to η throughout the Prākrits (*nō naḥ sarvatra*, cf. Fischel on Hāmacandra, i. 229, *Gramm. der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 224). In the New Indian dialects the change is less common.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *naī*, Pāli *naḍī*, New Ind. dialects *naḍī*, W. Bang. also *laḍī*. Skt. *vacana* 'speech,' Prāk. *vacaṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *vayaṇa*, Pāli *vacana*. Skt. *khanet* 'should

dig, Gatha *khaṇet*. Skt. *dhenu* 'cow,' Prāk. *dhēnu*, Pāli *dhēnu*, Sindhi *dhēnu*.

$n > b$.

§ 278. The change of *n* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Av. *mayna*, Oss. *baymag*.

$n > m$.

§ 279. The change of *n* to *m* occurs occasionally finally in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'penom,' Phl. *padām*, Pāz. *panām*, *panōm*, New Pers. *panām*. Phl. *bān* 'roof,' New Pers. *bān*, *bām*, Siv. *bān*, Kāš. *bā(n)*, *bōn*, Tāt *sarbu*, Afy. *bām*, Kurd. *bān*. Av. *āfrīna* 'blessing,' Phl. *āfrīn* 'praise,' *nafrīn* 'curse,' New Pers. *nafrīn*, Kurd. *nafrīm*.

$n > r$.

§ 280. The change of *n* to *r* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pāli *nērañjara*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāṇa*, *thāna*, Apab. Prāk. *ṭhānu*, *ṭhāu*, Pāli *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *thāsi*, Ur. *thāṇā*, *ṭhāṇā*, Bang. *thān*, *thāṇā*, Bihārī *ṭhāu(m)*, *thā(m)v*, Hindī *thānā*, *ṭhānā*, Panj. *ṭhāṇā*, *thānā*, Sindhi *thānu*, *ṭhānu*, Guj. *thān*, *ṭhān*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Sinh. *tāna*, *ṭāna*.

$n > l$.

§ 281. The change of *n* to *l* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, and in Sinhalese the change is regular. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the development is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pāli *ēla*, *ēḷa*. Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *limba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *līm*, *nīm*, Sindhi *limu*, Guj. *limbaḍo*, Mar. *limb*. Skt. *navanīta* 'butter,' Pāli *navanīta*, *nōnīta*, Bang. *nanī*, Hindī *nōnī*, Mar. *lōṇī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nīla* 'blue,' Kāśm. *nyul*, Bang., Bihārī *līl*, *nīl*, Guj. *līl*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Prāk. *vaṇa*, Pāli *vana*, Sinh. *val*, Maladive *vali*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nava* 'new,' Sinh. *lā*, Gyp. *nevō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Afy. *jal*, *jinai*, *jūnai*, etc.

(see § 275). Skt. *navaka* 'youth,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lau(k)*, *lāv*, *lō*.

$n > \bar{l}$

§ 282. The change of *n* to \bar{l} is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pāli *ēla*, *ēla*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Maladive *vaḷi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$n > v$.

§ 283. The change of *n* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnik*, *bēnik*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *binī*, Samn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tal. *vīnī*, E. Kurd. *baval*, Kurd. *bivil*, *bēn*.

Syncope of n.

§ 284. The loss of Indo-Iranian *n* is rather uncommon. In the Iranian dialects the apocope of *n* is found occasionally after long vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Apab. Prak. *ṭhāū*, *ṭhāṇu*, Bihārī *ṭhāū(n)*, *ṭhā(n)v*, etc. (see § 280).

b. Iranian. Phl. *vārān* 'rain,' New Pers. *bārān*, Zaf. *vurō*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Nāy. *vārūn*, Kurd. *bārin*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Zaf. *nū*, Nāy. *nōu*, Central dialects *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *nayan*. New Pers. *tābistān* 'summer,' Siv. *tavisā*. New Pers. *sā* 'manner,' *sān*. Phl., New Pers. *pašin* 'hinder,' Kurd. *paši*.

Prothesis of n.

§ 285. The prothesis of *n* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Phl. *ānīnak* 'mirror,' New Pers. *ānah*, Bal. *ādēnk*, (*h*)*ādēk*, N. Bal. *ādēn*, *āsina*, Kurd. *nainak*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

Epenthesis of n.

§ 286. The epenthesis of *n* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hasanra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hasār*, Afy. *sar*, Zaza *hanšār*.

$$p = p.$$

§ 287. Indo-Iranian *p* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'afterward,' Prāk., Pali *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē*, Kāśm. *pat(h)*, Uṛ. *pachē*, *pāchu*, Bang. *pāchā*, Hindi *pachē*, *pichē*, *pāchā*, *pichā*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhi *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Sinh. *pas(u)*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pali *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāśm. *pōp*, Uṛ. *pakka*, Bang. *pākā*, El. Hindi *pākal*, Hindi, Panj. *pakka*, Sindhi *pakō*, Guj. *✓pak*, *pik*, Mar. *pik*, *pikā*. Skt. *✓chap* 'go' (?), Uṛ. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *chāpitz*, *cāpitz*, *ṭēpitz*, Hindi *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā*, *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *thapanā*, Sindhi *chāpanu*, *cāpanu*, *ṭapudānu*, *thapanu*, Mar. *chāpanēm*, *cāpaṭa-nēm*, *ṭāp*, *thapakā*, Anglo-Ind. (*first*) *chop*, *shampoo*. Skt., Pali *japana* 'muttering,' Hindi *ja(m)panā*, Mar. *jāpanēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pasca* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā(va)*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāś. *pac*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pašt*, *pāšva*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxi *pād*, Šīyn. *pād*, Sarq. *pad*, Sangl. *puḍ*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yayn. *puda*, Afy. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phās*, Zaza *pai*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Gab. *ō*, Siv. *av*, *au*, Yazdi *vō*, Kāś. *ōv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(v)*, Gil., Tal., Tat. *ōv*, Wāxi *yupk*, *yapak*, Yidg. *yovv*, Yayn. *āp*, Afy. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*.

$$p > k.$$

§ 288. The change of *p* to *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pipilika* 'ant,' Pali *kipillika*, *pipilika* (by dissimilation).

$$p > ph, f.$$

§ 289. In the Middle and New Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *p* is usually caused by a following aspirate or sibilant. In the Iranian dialects *p* becomes *f* (apart from the regular laws of aspiration in Iranian) in Ossetish, and between vowels, or

finally after vowels in North Balūci, although this dialect shows *ph* initially before vowels and *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *parigha* 'bar,' Prak. *phaliha*. Skt. *paraśa* 'rough,' Pali *pharusa*. Skt. *pāribhadra* 'sort of tree,' Prak. *phāliḥadda*, Pali *phāliḥadda*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prak., Pali *puppha*, Bihārī *phūp(h)*, Old Hindi *puhupa*, Hindi *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phul*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Māhar. Prak., Pali *pāsa*, Nāip. *phāmsō*, *pāsō*, Ur. *phās*, Bang., E. Hindi, Hindi *phāms*, Panj. *phāhā*, Sindhi *phāst*, *phāht*, Guj., Mar. *phāms*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pasēf*, New Pers. *pasad*, Gab. *paza*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxi *pōcam*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bayazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fīum*, Tag. *fīin*. Av. *parəna* 'feather,' Phl., New Pers. *parr*, Afy. *par*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *fur*, *pal*, *par*, Zaza *firin* 'to fly.' Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' New Pers. *tāb*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tav*, Afy. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thaph*, *thaf*, *thap*, Kurd. *tā(v)*, Tag. Oss. *thaf*. Av., Old Pers. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šap*, *šavāḥ*, New Pers. *šab*, Samn. *šō*, Māz. *šū*, Tal. *šav*, Tat *šū*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, N. Bal. *šaf*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axšav*.

p > b.

§ 290. The change of the tenuis *p* to the media *b* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects, where *p* normally becomes *v*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lipi* 'tablet,' Prak. (inscriptions of Delhi) *libi*, Pali *lipi*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prak. *nhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śākara Prak. *nāvida*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prak. *apāṭa*, Ur., Bang. *kabāḍa*, Hindi, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. *api* 'also,' Prak. *pi*, *avi*, Pali (a)*pi*, Sindhi *bi*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Prak. *ṭhāveṭi*, Pali *ṭhāpeti*, Ur. *thuiḍa*, Bang. *thāste*, Hindi, Panj. *thāpanā*, Guj. *thāpavum*, Mar. *thāpanēm*, Sinh. *tabanavā*. Skt. *parāsvant* 'rhinoceros,' Pali *balasata*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kapōta* 'dove,' Phl. *kapōt(ar)*, New Pers. *kabātar*, Wāxi *kibit*, Sarq. *cabaud*, Yidg. *kwā*, Afy. *kantar*,

kavntar, Bal. *kapôt*, *kôtar*, Kurd. *kavôk*. Av. *xšapan* 'night,' New Pers., Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *âp* 'water,' New Pers. *âb*, *âv*, Afy. *ôba*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *lopâśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rôpās*, *rôbās*, New Pers. *rôbāh*, Gab. *rûvās*, Sarq. *rapé*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rûvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rûbas*.

p > m.

§ 291. The change of *p* to *m* is very rare outside the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nîpa* 'Kadamba tree,' Prāk. *nîma*, *nîva*, Pali *nîpa*. Skt. *âpîḍa* 'chaplet,' Prāk. *âmēla*, *âvêḍa*. Skt. *punaḥ* 'again,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi), *mina*, (inscriptions of Shahbazgarhi) *pana*, lit. Prāk. *puna*, Pali *pana*, Bihārī *phîn*, *p(h)un*. Skt. *svapant* 'sleeping,' Pali *sumanta*, but *supati* 'sleeps.' Skt., Pali *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Bang. *kachim*, Hindi, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhi *kamcha*. Skt. *sapāḍika* 'one and one fourth,' Prāk. *savāta*, Uṛ. *satūyāt*, Bang. *satūyā*, Hindi *savā*, W. Hindi *samā*, Panj. *savā(tā)*, Sindhi *savāt*, Guj. *savā*, Mar. *savvā*.

p > y.

§ 292. The change of *p* to *y*, which is, as in all similar phenomena, only apparent (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pali *pipāsā* 'thirst,' Hindi *piyās*, *piās*, *pyās*.

p > v.

§ 293. The change of *p* to *v* is the most frequent one of all those to which Indo-Iranian *p* is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is closely akin to the changes of *p* to *b* and of *b* to *v* noted in §§ 290, 308.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapāla* 'skull,' Prāk., Pali *kavāla*. Skt. *pāpa* 'evil,' Prāk. *pāva*, Pali *pāpa*, Kāśm. *pāph*, Sinh. *pavu*, other New Ind. dialects *pāp*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uvajjhāa*,

ujjhāa, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādha*, Sindhi *vājho*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*, etc. (see § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*, Wāxi, Sarq. *var*, Afy. *prē*, Bal. *par*, N. Bal. *phar*, *gvar*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *vala*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' Pāz. *law*, New Pers. *lab*, Gab. *lāv*, Bahb. *lau*, Zāf. *lō*, Kāš. *lav*, Vōn. *lōi*, Nay. *liya*, Wāxi, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv*. Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *av*, *āb*, Siv. *av*, *au*, Kāš. *ōv*, Māz. *ōv*, *ō*, Gīl. *Tāl*, Tāt. *ōv*, Yidg. *yovy*, Kurd. *av*, etc. (see § 287). Av. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šavāk*, *šap*, Tāl. *šav*. Minj. *xšava*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *aššav*, etc. (see § 289). Skt. *lopāśa* 'fox,' Gab. *rūvās*, Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see § 290). Skt. *kapinjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapinjar*, N. Bal. *khawinjar*.

Syncope of p.

§ 294. The loss of Indo-Iranian *p* through the transition-grades *b* and *v* (cf. §§ 290, 293, 309, 376) is not uncommon in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āryaputra* 'father-in-law's son,' Prak. *ajjattta*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuwā*, Kāsm. *khuk*, Uṛ., Bang. *kūa*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kū(m)ām*, Sindhi *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuwō*. Skt. *kapittha* 'wood-apple tree,' Uṛ. *katta*, Hindī *kaṭhabel* (with metathesis).

b. Iranian. Av. *āp* 'water,' Gab. *ō*, Nay. *āō*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō*, *ōv*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' Gab. *tō*, Kurd. *tā*, *tāv*, etc. (see § 289).

ph = ph.

§ 295. Indo-Iranian *ph* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *phaṇa* 'snake's hood,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *phaṇā*, Sindhi *phaṇi*, Guj. *phaṇō*, Mar. *phaṇā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxi *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xafa*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afy. *sva*, Oss. *safthag*.

ph > *p*.

§ 296. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *ph* is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Balūči, where inter-vocalic *ph* regularly becomes *p*, which North Balūči has developed to *f*.

a. Indian. Skt. *phaṣṣinoga* 'flying insect,' Pali *paṣṣanoga*. Skt. *phalgū* 'herb,' Pali **phalgava* > *paggava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kāfūn*, Tat *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpag*, N. Bal. *kōfay*, Kurd. *kāh*. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Bal. *kap*, etc. (see preceding §).

ph > *b*.

§ 297. The change of *ph* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Afy. *kvab*, etc. (see preceding §).

ph > *bh*.

§ 298. The change of *ph* to *bh* is found not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēpha* 'burring sound,' Prak. *rebha*. Skt. *saphala* 'fruitful,' Prak. *sabhala*, Apab. Prak. *sahala*, Pali *saphala*. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prak. *sabhari*, *sahari*, Pali *saphari*, Hindi *saharī*, Panj. *saṭl*.

ph > *v*.

§ 299. The change of *ph* to *v* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Kurd. *kāh*, but *kōv* 'wild,' etc. (see § 296). Av. *saṣa* 'hoof,' Afy. *sva*, etc. (see § 295).

ph > *h*.

§ 300. The change of *ph* to *h* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prak. *sahari*, *sabhari*, Hindi *saharī*, etc. (see § 298).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' New Pers. *kōh*, etc. (see § 296).

Syncope of ph.

§ 301. The loss of Indo-Iranian *ph* is a very rare phenomenon.

- a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Panj. *satū*, etc. (see § 298).

Epenthesis of ph, f.

§ 302. The epenthesis of *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

- b. Iranian. Av. *taša* 'axe,' New Pers. *taš*, Kurd. *tafsciu*.

$$b = b.$$

§ 303. Indo-Iranian *b* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

- a. Indian. Skt. *baddhati* 'binds,' Prāk. *bamdhāt*, Pāli *bamdhati*, Hindi *bāmdh*, Panj. *bannh*, Sindhi *bāmdh*. Skt. *budhyatē* 'knows,' Prāk. *bujjhat*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kāśm. *saṃjhādi*, *bujhibā*, Ur., Bang. *bājhana*, Hindi *bājhanā*, Panj. *bujjhanā*, Sindhi *bujhanu*, Guj. *bujavuh*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *sabara*, *samara*.

- b. Iranian. Av. *baršaiti* 'divides,' Phl. *bartanō*, Pāz., New Pers. *baršidan*, Afy. *bašal*, *bazal*, Bal. *bakšag*, N. Bal. *baška*, Kurd. *baršîn*. Av. *barəs* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *bars*, Kurd. *bars*, Oss. *barsond*.

$$b > p.$$

§ 304. The change of the *b* to *p* is excessively rare.

- a. Indian. Skt. *bādha* 'firm,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Dhaulī) *pādha*, Mahār. Prāk. *bādha*. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

$$b > bh.$$

§ 305. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian *b* is very rare.

- a. Indian. Skt. *brhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bhaaphadi*.

$$b > m.$$

§ 306. The change of *b* to *m* is extremely rare (cf. Skt. *brāhi* 'speak!' Av. *mrūiði*).

- a. Indian. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *samara*, *sabara*. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kamamāha*, *kayamāha*.

b > *y*.

§ 307. The change of *b* to *y*, which is only an apparent one (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270, 292), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kayamādhā*, *kamamādhā*.

b > *v*.

§ 308. The change of *b* to *v* is very common, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Prākrits have so far confused *b* and *v* that Vararuci writes *v* for *b* throughout. The New Indian dialects use *v* almost to the exclusion of *b* in the East, Hindi reverses this, writing every *v* as *b*, Panjabi uses *b* and *v* indifferently, while the Western dialects preserve the original distinction between the two more carefully.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'vapor,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śaur. Prāk. *bappa*, Pali *bappa*, Kāśm. *bāha*, Uṛ., Bang. *bāpha*, *bhāpha*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bā(ṁ)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *bāph*, Guj. *bā(ṁ)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *bandhyā* 'barren woman,' Prāk., Pali *vamjjhā*, Bang. *bāmjhā*, Sindhi *vāmjh*, Marvari *bāmjhāḍi*, Guj. *vāmjham*, Mar. *vāmjh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *basa* 'goat,' Phl. *bāj*, New Pers. *bus*, Waxi *buc*, *büc*, Šīyn., Sarq. *vas*, Sangl. *vus*, Minj. *voa*, Yidg. *visa*, Afy. *vus*, Kurd. *bisîn*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēv*, *nēk*.

Syncope of b.

§ 309. The syncope of an intervocalic *b* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pibati* 'drinks,' Prāk. *piat*, Pali *pibati*, Sinh. *bonavā*, caus. *povanavā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēk*, *nēv*.

Epenthesis of b.

§ 310. The epenthesis of *b* is quite rare. It seems to occur mostly in the vicinity of *m*.

b. Iranian. Av. *staxra* 'stiff,' Phl. *stahmbaktar*, *stahmaktar*,

New Pers. *sitam*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl. New Pers. *dum*, *dumb*, Sarq. *ḍum*, *ḍumbā*, Afy. *lam*, Kurd. *dāv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *ḍimag*. Skt. *rōman* 'hair of the body,' New Pers. *rūm*, *rumah*, *rumbah*.

$bh = bh$

§ 311. In the Indian dialects Indo-Iranian *bh* is in general retained unchanged. The Iranian dialects, on the other hand, change *bh* to *b*, which, however, in the younger Avesta became *w*, excepting when *b* was preceded by a written nasal or sibilant, or when *b* was initial.

a. Indian. Skt. *pratibhāti* 'glory,' Prāk. *paḍibhāti*. Skt., Prāk., Pali *bhāmi* 'earth,' Uṛ. *bhāma*, *bhūrim*, Bang. *bhām*, Hindi *bhām*, *bhūim*, *bhūrim*, Panj. *bhām*, *bhām*, *bhūrim*, *bhōrim*, Sindhi *bhu(im)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Gyp. *phuv*.

$bh > kh, x$.

§ 312. The change of *bh* to *kh, x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *aftāb* 'sun,' Šiyn., Sarq. *aftau*, Kurd. *ataf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Bostani *tāv*.

$bh > ph, f$.

§ 313. The change of *bh* to *ph, f*, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ainvirocayeiti* 'kindles,' Phl. *afrōxtanō*, New Pers. *afrōxtan*. Skt. *abhi* + *sāṇa* 'whetstone,' Phl. *afsān*, New Pers. *afsān*, *avsān*, *fasān*, Wāxi, Sarq. *pasān*. Skt. *ūrṇavābhi* 'spinning-wheel,' New Pers. *bāftan*, Gab. *vaftmūn*, Wāxi *vufam*, Sarq. *vāfam*, Afy. *ōdal*, *ūdal*, Bal. *gvapag*, N. Bal. *gvafay*, Oss. *vafin*.

$bh > b$.

§ 314. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *bh* is by no means common.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bhañī*, *bahinī*, Pali *bhaginī*, Kāsm. *byaṇ*, Uṛ. *bhāmī*, *bhaṇī*, Bang. *bain*, Hindi

bahin, Panj. *bhāin*, *bainh*, Sindhi *bhēnu*, Guj. *bēhen*, Mar. *bahin*, Gyp. *phen*.

bh > *m*.

§ 315. The change of *bh* to *m* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṇḍubhi* 'drum,' Pāli *dindima*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *bhaṅgā* 'bhang, hemp,' Av. *baŋha*, Phl., New Pers. *mang*, *bang*. Skt. *nabhi* 'navel,' Av. *nāfah*, Phl. *nāfak*, Afy. *nū*, *nām*, Bal. *nāpag*, *nāfag*, N. Bal. *nāfay*, Kurd. *nāv*.

bh > *mh*.

§ 316. The change of *bh* to *mh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaṇati* 'speaks,' Prak. *bhaṇai*, Pāli *bhaṇati*, Mar. *mhaṇaṇēmi*.

bh > *v*.

§ 317. The change of *bh* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Yidg. *nuvuh*.

bh > *h*.

§ 318. The change of *bh* to *h* is the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *bh* is subject in the Indian dialects, but *bh* does not become *h* in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaṇḍa* 'pot,' Pāli *bhaṇḍa*, Uṛ. *Bang. hāmḍi*, Bihārī *hāmḍ*, *bhāmḍ*, Hindi, Panj. *hōmḍi*, Sindhi *hamḍā*, Guj. *hāmḍi*, Mar. *hāmḍi*. Skt. *labhati* 'takes,' Prak. *lahai*, Pāli *labhati*, Uṛ. *nē*, Bang. *laō*, Old Hindi *laha*, Hindi *lē*, Panj. *lahi*, *lai*, Sindhi *lah*, Guj. *lē*, Mar. *nē*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prak. *huvai*, *bhavai*, Pāli. Prak. *bhōti*, Śaur. *hōdi*, *huvadi*, *havadi*, *bhōdi*, *bhuvadi*, *bhavadi*, Pāli *hōti*, *bhavati*, Uṛ. *hōibā*, *hebbā*, Bang. *hōite*, Hindi *hōnā*, Panj. *hōnā*, Sindhi *huanu*, Guj. *hōvum*, Mar. *hōpēm*.

m = *m*.

§ 319. Indo-Iranian *m* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prak., Pāli *majjha*, Ass.

māj, Kāśm. *maṃs*, Uṛ. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *mājhi*, *mañjhōlā*, Panj. *māñjh*, *majjh*, Sindhi *mañjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Siṃh. *mā(m)da*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍa*, Uṛ. *mala*, Hindī *muā*, Panj. *muia*, Sindhi *muō*, Guj. *muuṃ*, Mar. *mēlēm*, Siṃh. *maḷa*. Skt. *kṣamā* 'patience,' Prāk. *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Pāli *khamā*, Hindī *chimā*, Panj., Sindhi *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*, Mar. *khamanēm*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Uṛ., Bang. *gām*, Hindī *gāmv*, Sindhi *gāmu*, *gāt*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāmv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maidyana* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxi *malung*, Šiyn. *madāna*, Sarq. *madān*, Afy. *manj*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mūdag*. Av. *mərəta* 'dead,' Phl. *mart* 'mortal,' New Pers. *mard*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mir*. Av. *simō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *sam*, Wāxi *sam*, Šiyn. *simj*, *sinj*, Sarq. *samān*, Afy. *kimai*, Dig. Oss. *sumag*, Tag. *simag*. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Māz. *nūm*, Gil. *nōm*, Wāxi *nung*, Afy. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, plur. *namththa*, Tag. *nom*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, So Kurd. *yūma*.

m > n.

§ 320. The change of *m* to *n* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Dig. Oss. *non*, but plur. *namththa*, etc. (see preceding §).

m > ŋ.

§ 321. The change of *m* to *ŋ* occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Wāxi *nung*, etc. (see § 319). Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxi *yūng*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmay*, Kurd. *xāv*.

m > ph, f.

§ 322. The change of *m* to *ph, f*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dāman* 'bond,' New Pers. *dām*, Afy. *lām*, Kurd. *daf*.

m > b.

§ 323. The change of *m* to *b* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pali *mahiṃsa*, Kāśm. *māiṣ*, Uṛ. *bhayēṣa*, Bang. *bhaiṃs*, Bihārī *mhaiṣ*, *bhaiṃs*, *mahiṣ*, *bahiṣ*, Hindi *bhaiṃs*, *mhaiṃs*, Panj. *majh*, Sindhi *manjh*, *mānhi*, Guj. *bhēms*, *bhaiṃs*, *bhaiṃh*, Mar. *bhaiṃs*, *mhaiṣ*. Skt., Pali *manōrama* 'delightful,' Old Sinh. *manumaraka* 'grandson' < **manurama-ka*, Sinh. *munuburu* (*m > b* by dissimilation).

m > v.

§ 324. In the New Indian dialects the change of *m* to *v* is a very frequent one. It is more rare in the Middle Indian, while only a few instances are quotable from the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manmatha* 'love,' Prāk. *vammaha*, Śaur. Prāk. *mammadha*. Skt. *abhimanyu* nom. prop., Prāk. *ahivannu*, *ahimannu*. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvāra*, Pali *yamala*. Skt. *mimāṃs* 'investigating,' Pali *vivāṃs*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pali *āmalaka*, Uṛ. *āmala*, Bang. *āolā*, *āulā*, Hindi, Panj. *āmvalā*, Sindhi *āmvirō*, Mar. *āmvalā*. Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pali *sāmala*, E. Hindi *sāmvar*, Hindi *sāmvalā*, W. Hindi *sāmvarā*, Panj. *sāmvalā*, Sindhi *sāmvalu*, *sāmviru*, Mar. *sāmvalā*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' Bihārī *gōsāmī*, Mar. *gōsāvi*, other New Ind. dialects *gōsāmī*, Anglo-Ind. *gosain*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmānkar*, Pāz. *andēmānī*, New Pers. *dim*, Sīv., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dēv*, *dēv*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *pairi* 'around' + *vasaiti* 'flies,' New Pers. *parmās* 'flight' beside *parvās*. New Pers. *parvānah* 'butterfly' beside *parmānah*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz., New Pers. *namās*, Afy. *nmunj*, Bal. *navāš*, *namāš*, Kurd. *nivēš*, *nvēš*, *nmēš*. Av. *naēma* 'half,' Phl. *nēm(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīm*, Afy. *nīmai*, Bal. *nēmag*, Kurd. *niv*.

m > s.

§ 325. The change of *m* to *s* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk. *bhasala*, *bhasara*,

bhasana, *bhamara*, Apab. Prāk. *bhasahu*, Jaina Prāk. *bhasara*, Pāli *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhamāra*, Bang. *bhāmara*, Bihārī *bhāuīrā*, Hindī *bhaīvar*, *bhāuīr*, Panj. *bhaīur*, Sindhī *bhāuīru*, Mar. *bhōīr*. [So Hēmacandra falsely (see Pischel, § 251).]

m > *m̐*.

§ 326. The change of *m* to *m̐* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nām*, Panj. *nāūm*, Sindhī *nāmūm*, Mar. *nāv*, Gyp. *anāv*, *nav*. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Uṛ. *bhūma*, *bhūīm*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī *bhūīm*, *bhūīm*, *bhūm*, Panj. *bhūīm*, *bhūīm*, *bhōīm*, *bhūīm*, Sindhī *bhūīm*, *bhū*, Guj. *bhū*, *bhuy*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Sirhh. *bima*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *rōman* 'hair of the body,' Bang. *rōmā*, Bihārī *rōām*, *rōvam*, Hindī, Panj., *rōām*, Sindhī *lām*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' New Ind. dialects *gōsām*, etc. (see § 324). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dhūma* 'smoke,' Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhūām*, Kāśm. *duh*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhūām*, *dhūām*, Sindhī *dumhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Sirhh. *dum*.

m > *m̐v*.

§ 327. The change of *m* to *m̐v* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nām*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kumāra* 'prince,' Prāk. *kumāra*, Māg. Prāk. *kumālē*, Pāli *kumāraka*, Bihārī *kumār*, *kuar*, *kuvar*, Hindī *kumār*, Panj. *kamār*, Mar. *kumār*.

Syncope of m.

§ 328. The loss of Indo-Iranian *m* is very frequent in the New Indian dialects, although in Middle Indian *m* is lost only when final. In the Iranian dialects the phenomenon is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *katham* 'how,' Prāk. *kaha*, *kahām*. Skt. *idānim* 'now,' Prāk. *dāṇi*, *dāṇīm*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions

hidalōkika 'temporal,' Skt., Pali *nēmi* 'circumference,' U_r. *nia*, Bang. *nē*, E. Hindi, Hindi *nēv*, Panj. *nium*, Guj. *nēv*. Skt. *cāmara* 'ox-tail fan,' Prak. *cāmara*, Pali *cāmara*, U_r. *camara*, Bang. *cāuir*, *camarā*, Hindi *cāuri*, *cāuirī*, Panj. *cāur*, Sindhi *cāuru*, Guj. *cāuri*, Mar. *cāuri*, *cāumrī*, *cāmar*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Nāip. *dhūām*, Hindi, Panj. *dhūām*, *dhū-mām*, etc. (see § 326). Skt. *vāmana* 'dwarf,' Prak., Pali *vāmana*, Bang. *bāuniyā*, Hindi *banā*, *bāunā*, Panj. *bāunā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *gadamava*, name of a place, Phl., Pāz. *gan̄tum* 'garlic,' New Pers. *gandum*, Nāy. *gundō*, Waxi *yid̄m*, Siyn. *sindam*, Sarq. *sandam*, *sandum*, Sangl., Minj. *yandam*, Yidg. *yadum*, Afy. *yanum*, Bal. *gand̄m*. Old Pers. *avākanam* 'I dug,' New Pers. *kanam*, Gab. *akana*, *akanē*, but 1 pl. *akanim*.

Epenthesis of m, n.

§ 329. In the Indian dialects epenthesis of *m*, *n*, is very frequent. It is far less common in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yat prabh̄rti* 'since,' Jaina Prak. *jappabhiim*, cf. Māhār. Prak. *tappabhiim*. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pali *mahiṃsa*, Kāsm. *māms*, Bang. *bhāms*, Bihārī *bhāims*, *mhāis*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindi *bhāims*, *mhāims*, Sindhi *manjh*, *mam̄ki*, Guj. *bhems*, *bhāims*, *bhāimh*, Mar. *bhāims*, *mhāis*, etc. (see § 323). Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuwā*, Kāsm. *khuḥ*, U_r., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindi, Panj. *kūām*, *kūām*, Sindhi *khāhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuwō*. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prak. *chahi*, *chāya* 'beauty,' Pali *chāya*, U_r. *chākina*, Bihārī *chāmh*, Hindi *chām*, *chām̄*, *chām̄h*, *chāom*, Panj. *chām*, *chāum*, Sindhi *chām̄(v)*, Guj. *chāmy*. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Prak. *naha*, Pali *nabha*, Sinh. *numba*, *nuba*. Skt., Prak., Pali *lajjā* 'modesty,' U_r., Old Bang., Hindi *lajjā*, *laj*, Panj. *lajj*, Sindhi *laj*, Guj., Mar. *lajjā*, *laj*, Sinh. *lamda*, *lada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pr̄daku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *palang*, *pilang*, Afy. *prāng*. Av. *nemah* 'homage,' Afy. *nmun̄j*, etc. (see § 324). Lat. *vespa* 'wasp,' Lith. *vapsa*, Bal. *gvams*, *gvabs*. New Pers.

pōs 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūs*, Sangl. *fusik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōsa*, *pasa*, Bal. *pōns*, *pōs*, N. Bal. *phōns*, *phōs*, Kurd. *pūs*, *pōs*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *fiŋg*. Phl. *huftanō* 'to hide,' 8 s. pres. *hambēŋ*, New Pers. *nihuftan*, *nihunbīdan*, Kurd. *niziftin*.

$y = y$.

§ 330. Indo-Iranian *y* remains in general unchanged in the Iranian dialects, especially in the Persian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, the preservation of an initial *y* is excessively rare, although it is usually retained internally.

a. Indian. Skt. *yabhati* 'fuit,' Sindhi *yabhaṇu*. Skt., Prak., Pali *dayālu* 'merciful,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *dayāl(u)*, Sindhi *ḍayālū*, Guj., Mar. *dayāl(u)*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prak. *hia(y)a*, Paśā. Prak. *hitaaka*, Pali *hadaya*, Ass., Uṛ., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāum*, Sindhi *himāmu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (y)ilo.

b. Iranian. Av. *yaska* 'disease,' Phl. *yask*, New Pers. *jask*. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juy*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiyn. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūy*, Bal. *jōy*, Kurd. *jāk*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Siv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yangj*, Yayn. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukri *yō*, Oss. *yau*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afy. *yūn*. Av. *asaya* 'shadowless,' Phl. *sāyak* 'shadow,' New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sī*. Av. *zayata* 'was born,' Phl. *sayand*, New Pers. *sayad*, Afy. *sēti*, Bal. *sāyag*, N. Bal. *sāy*, Kurd. *sāin*, Oss. *sayi*.

$y > j$.

§ 331. In the Indian dialects original *y* regularly becomes *j*. Uṛiya and Bangālī pronounce every *y* as *j*, and the same practice is observed in most instances by Hindi and Panjābī. The West Indian dialects, the Sindhi, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, on the other hand, retain the Old Indian value of *y* (cf. also § 308). The change of *y* to *j* is less common in the Iranian dialects, although New Persian, Afyān, Balūči, and Kurdish show frequent examples of it.

a. Indian. Skt. *ya* 'who,' Prāk. *ja*, Pali *ya*, U_ṛ., Bang. *jē*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *jō*, Guj. *jē*, Mar. *jō*. Skt. *yōgya* 'worthy,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pali *yogga*, New Ind. dialects *jōg*, Mar. also *yōg*. Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovvāna*, Pali *yobbana*, Sindhi *jōbhanu*. Skt. *yantragṛha* 'bath-room,' Pali *jantaghara*, *jantaggha*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' Prāk. *jahā*, Pali *jathā*, Gāthā *jahā*, U_ṛ. *jēthā*, Bang. *jēkhānē*, Hindi *jahāni*, Panj. *jithē*, Sindhi *jiti*, Guj. *jāmhām*, Mar. *jēthēm*, *jithē*. Skt., Pali *yāna* 'vehicle,' U_ṛ. *jibā*, Bang. *jātē*, Hindi *jānā*, Panj. *jāṇā*, Guj. *javum*, Mar. *yāñēm*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *yuvīya* 'canal,' Phl. *yōi*, *jōi*, New Pers. *jōi*, Afy. *jova*. Av. *yuzta* 'joined,' Phl. *juzt*, New Pers. *juft*, Afy. *juzt*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *jav*, *yav*, New Pers. *jav*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *yāma* 'glass,' Phl. *jām*, *yām*, New Pers. *jām*.

y > b.

§ 332. The change of *y* to *b* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pūya* 'pus,' Pali *pubba*. Skt. *jarāyū* 'uterus,' Pali *jalabu*, Sinh. *dalabu*.

y > bh.

§ 333. The change of *y* to *bh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarayu* name of a river, Pali *sarabhu*.

y > r.

§ 334. The change of *y* to *r* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śrāmanēya* 'novice,' Pali *sāmaṇēra*. Skt. *snāyū* 'sinew,' Jaina Prāk. *nhāru*, Pali *nahāru*, Sinh. *naharaya*.

y > l.

§ 335. The change of *y* to *l* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pali *laṭṭhi*, U_ṛ., Bang. *laṭhi*, Hindi *laṭ(ṭ)*, *laṭhi*, Panj. *laṭṭhi*, Sindhi *laṭhi*, Guj. *laṭ*, *laṭh*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *dyōtayatī* 'illuminates,' Pali

jōtalati, jōtayati, jōtēti. Bihārī *dilōtarsu* 'one hundred and two' beside *diyōtarsu* (on the analogy of *tilōtarsu, calōtarsu*, etc.).

y > v.

§ 336. The change of *y* to *v* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛgaya* 'hunt,' Pāli *migava*. Skt. *trayas-trimśat* 'thirty-three,' Jaina Prāk., Pāli *tavattisa*, Kāśm. *tyaya-trah*, Bihārī *tāmtis*, cf. archaic Sinh. *tavak*. Skt. *āyudha* 'weapon,' Prāk. *āuha*, Pāś. Prāk. *āyudha*, Pāli *āyudha, āvudha*, Sinh. *avi(ya)*.

y > h.

§ 337. The change of *y* to *h* is an exceedingly rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhā* 'shadow,' *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, Uṛ. *chāhina*, Hindi *chāmh, chām(v), chāōm*, Panj. *cā(u)m*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *cāmy*. Skt. *raṇajaya* 'victorious,' Pāli *raṇanjaha*. Skt. *svayampati* 'epithet of Brāhma,' Pāli *sahampati*.

Apocope of y.

§ 338. The loss of an original initial *y* is found, although but seldom, in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yūkā* 'louse,' Pāli *ukā*, Hindi *jūn*, Gyp. *juv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuṣmākam* 'of you,' GAv. *xsmāka*, YAv. *yušmākam*, Pāz., New Pers. *sumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smaz*, Tag. *sumax*.

Syncope of y.

§ 339. The loss of an original *y* is not a very frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kisalaya* 'sprout,' Prāk. *kisala, kisalaya*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hīa, hiaya*, Pāś. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *hiā*, Panj. *hiām, hiyām*, etc. (see § 330). Skt. *vāyu* 'wind,' Prāk. *vāu*, Pāli *vāyu*, Uṛ. *bōa*, Bang., Hindi *bāi, bāo*, Panj. *vāu*, Sindhi *bāi, vāu*, Guj. *vā(v)*, Mar. *vāv*. Skt. *dēva-*

laya 'temple,' U_r. *dēal*, Bang., Hindi *dēval*, Panj. *dēwāla*, Sindhi *dēwāl*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēal*.

Prothesis of y.

§ 340. Prothetic *y* is occasionally found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *eva* 'indeed,' Prak. *yēva*, Śaur. Prak. *jevva*, Pali *eva*, *yēva*, *hēva*. Skt. *avirbhūta* 'having become manifest,' Jaina Prak. *yāvihotta*.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ataš*, New Pers. (*a*)*taš*, *atiš*, Gab. *taš*, Šiyn. *yāš*, Sarq. *yuč*, Minj. *yur*, N. Bal. *ac*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxi *yaš*, Minj., Yidg. *yasp*, Afy. *as*, Bal. (*h*)*aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*. Av. *ahmi* 'I am,' Old Pers. *amīy*, New Pers. *am*, Afy. *yam*, *am*, Kurd. *im*.

aya > ā.

§ 341. The loss of Indo-Iranian *y* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, which has been noted in § 339, gives rise to various contractions. Similar contractions often occur in consequence of the syncope of Indo-Iranian consonants. The contraction of *aya* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyayana* 'rehabilitation,' Pali *abbhāna*. Skt., Pali *udaya* 'rise,' Sinh. *udā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayavauš* nom. prop., Phl. *dāriav*, New Pers. *dārā(b)*, *dārāv*.

aya > ē.

§ 342. The contraction of *aya* to *ē* is the normal one in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It is carried out in all causatives in the Middle Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prak. *dhāreī*, Pali *dhāreṭi*. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Śaur. Prak. *kadhēdi*, *kahēdi*, Pali *kathēṭi*. Skt. *noyati* 'leads,' Prak. *nēi*, Śaur. Prak. *nēdi*, Pali Prak. *nēti*, Pali *nayati*, *nēti*, Gāthā *upanēti*. Skt. *kṣaya* 'destruction,' Māg. Prak., Pali *khaya*, Hindi, Panj. *chai*, Guj. *kḥē*, Mar. *khaṭ*. Skt.,

Prāk., Pali *bhaya* 'fear,' Uṛ. *bhē*, Hindi, Panj. *bhai*, Sindhi *bhai*, *bhāu*, Mar. *bhē*. Skt. *nayana* 'eye,' Prāk. *ṇaana*, Pali *nayana*, Hindi, Panj. *nāin*, Sindhi *nēnu*, Guj. *nēnam*, *nēnn*. Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Sinh. *mañṇiyam*. Skt. *śayanāsana* 'bed-room,' Pali *sayanāsana*, Sinh. *senasun*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paourva* 'former' + *ayarə* 'day,' Phl., New Pers. *parēr*, Kāš. *parē*, Bal. *parēri*, *pairēri* 'last year,' N. Bal. *phairi*. Av. *sayeiti* 'is born,' Pāmir dialects *sid*.

ayū > ō.

§ 343. The contraction of *ayū* to *ō* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mayūra* 'peacock,' Prāk., Pali *mōra*, Kāsm., Uṛ. *mōr*, Sindhi *mōru*, Guj., Mar. *mōr*.

ayō > ē, āi.

§ 344. The contraction of *ayō* to *ē, āi*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, *tēdasa* (inscriptions of Khālsi), *trāidasa* (inscriptions of Gīrnar), Pali *tērasa*, Kāsm. *truvāh*, Uṛ. *tēra*, Bang. *tērō*, Hindi *tērah*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhi *tērahām*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*.

iya > ī.

§ 345. The contraction of *iya* to *ī* is a rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiyaṇt* 'how much?' Pali *kittaka* < **kiyat-taka*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *priya* 'beloved,' Av. *frya*, New Pers. *fri*.

āya > ā.

§ 346. The contraction of *āya* to *ā* seems to be the most usual one to which *āya* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāyasa* 'aerial,' Jāina Prāk., Pali *vehāsa*. Skt. *upaṭṭhāyaka* 'servant,' Pali *upaṭṭhaka*. Skt. *kālāyasa* 'iron,' Pali *kālāsa*, *kālāyasa*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Phl., New Pers. *šāh*.

āya > *ē*

§ 347. The contraction of *āya* to *ē* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāyati* 'flees,' Māhār. Prak. *palāyai*, Pāli *palēti*.

āya > *aī*.

§ 348. The contraction of *āya* to *aī* is found in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasnāyanta* 'they washed,' Dig. Oss. *axsmun*, Tag. *axsmīn* 'wash,' Tag. *naīn* 'bathe.' Skt. *rāyati* 'bellows,' Oss. *raīn*.

r = *r*.

§ 349. Indo-Iranian *r* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkhā* 'streak,' Prak. *rēhā*, Pāli *rēkhā*, Hindi, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhi *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, Mar. *rē(g)h*. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prak. *rāā*, Mag. Prak. *laa*, Māhār. Prak. *rāyā*, Pāis. Prak. *rājā*, Cūlikapāis. Prak. *rācā*, Pāli *rājan*, Hindi *rāū*, *rāv*, Simh. *rada*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Māhār. Prak., Pāli *kappūra*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *kapūr*, Mar. *kāpūr*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāhurā*, Sindhi *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsara*, Maladive *hurs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxi *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *rayan*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl., New Pers. *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(īh)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rāj*, Caspian dialects *rā*, but Kāš. *rā*, Tāl. *rōš*, *rūš*, Afy. *rvaj*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruš*, *rō(š)*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Wāxi *stār*, Šiyn. *štarj*, Sarq. *xturj*, Sangl. *ustūrak*, Minj. *astāri*, Afy. *stōrai*, Kurd. *istirk*, Zaza *astar*, Oss. *stali*. Av. *x^oaraiti* 'eats,' Old Pers. *μapri-χόπα*, Phl. *x^oartānō*, New Pers. *xurdan*, Kāš. *xūrtan*, Šiyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *x^oaram*, Minj. *xaram*, Afy. *x^oaral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, *x^oarin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*.

$r > j$.

§ 350. The change of r to j is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pali *pūraṇa* 'fulfilment,' Hindi *pūjna*, Sindhi *pujānu*.

$r > ḍh$.

§ 351. The change of r to $ḍh$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *araddha* 'beginning,' Prak. *adhatta*, *araddha*, Māhar. Prak., Pali *araddha*. [See now Pischel, § 223.]

$r > ḍ$.

§ 352. The change of r to $ḍ$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *purandara* 'epithet of Indra,' Pali *purindada*, *purinda* (by assimilation or false analogy).

$r > n$.

§ 353. The change of r to n is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayāmiy* 'I hold,' Phl., New Pers. *dāram*, Waxi *vaḍūram*, Sarq. *ḍoram*, Lād. *dānam*. Phl., New Pers. *mār* 'serpent,' Afy. *mangarai*.

$r > l$.

§ 354. The change of r to l is by far the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian r is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Māgadhi Prakrit r becomes l everywhere. Similarly in the Prakrit of the inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khāsi, Bhabra, Sahasaram, and Bairāt r becomes l throughout, but in the inscriptions of Rūpnāth r occurs twice.

a. Indian. Skt. *ratni* 'night,' Prak. *ratti*, *rāi*, Māg. Prak. *latti*, Pali *ratti*, Ur., Bang. *rāt(i)*, Hindi *rāt*, Panj. *rāt*, Sindhi *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*. Skt. *carana* 'foot,' Prak. *calaṇa*, Śaur. Prak. also *carana*, Apab. Prak. *calanu*, Pāś. Prak. *calaṇa*, Pali *carana*. Skt. *hāridra* 'yellow,' Prak., Pali *halidda*. Skt. *parigha* 'iron bar,' Pali *paligha*. Skt. *reṣṣu* 'string,' Ass. *lēju*, E. Hindi *lējuri*. Skt. *cātvarīṃśat* 'forty,' Prak. *cattaliśa*,

caālisa, Pali *cattāḷisa*, *cattarisa*, Kāśm. *ṣatajih*, Ur. *caliśa*, Bang. *calliśa*, Bihārī *calis*, Hindi *calis*, Panj. *caḷi*, Sindhi *calih*, Guj., Mar. *calis*, Sinh. *hataliha*, *sataliha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raēcayaṣ* 'poured,' Phl. *rēzjanō*, Pāz. *rēšed*, New Pers. *rēxtan*, Gab. *rētman*, Vön. *rētan*, Wāxi *varicam*, Sarq. *varaisam*, Bal. *rēcag*, N. Bal. *rīšay*, Kurd. *rētin*, Dig. Osa. *lēṣun*, Tag. *lišin*. Av. *vārayna* 'raven,' Phl. *vālay*, *vāray*, *vārak*. Av. (*spa*) *taurunō* 'puppy,' Phl. *taruk*, *tūruk*, *tōruk*, *tōrak*, New Pers. *tōlah*, *tōrah*, Gab. *tōrah*, Kāś. *tōra*, *tūra*, *tura*, Bal. *tōlag*, N. Bal. *thōlay*, Kurd. *tūra*. New Pers. *sūrūz* 'hole,' Judaeo-Pers. *sulāz*, Afy. *sūrai*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrik*, Vön. *mōrcuna*, Dig. Osa. *muljug*, Tag. *malfig*. Av., Phl., New Pers. *nar* 'man,' Sangl. *narak*, Afy., Bal., Kurd. *nar*, Dig. Osa. *nala*, Tag. *nal*.

$r > l$

§ 355. The change of *r* to *l* is not a very frequent one. It is, of course, confined to the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prak. *iṅgālā*, Pali *aṅgāra*, Guj. *iṅgārō*, *aṅgārō*, Mar. *iṅgāl(a)*, *iṅgōl*, Gyp. *angār*. Skt. *cātvarimśat* 'forty,' Pali *cattāḷisa*, *cattarisa*, Panj. *caḷi*, Sinh. *hataliha*, *sataliha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kṣāra* 'ashes,' Prak. *chāra*, Pali *khāra*, *charika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, but Sindhi *chāru*, Sinh. (*h*)*aḷu*, Maladive *hulu*.

Syncope of r.

§ 356. The loss of an original *r* is infrequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *param*, *parē* 'beyond,' Māg. Prak. *palē*, Apab. Prak. *pali*, Bihārī *pāi*. Skt. *durōsarita* 'duly and unduly restored,' Pali *dōsarita*.

b. Iranian. Pāz., New Pers. *agur* 'if,' Siv. *ay*. New Pers. *kar* 'make!' Gab. *kar*, Central dialects *ka*, Kāś. *ki*, Nāy. *nika*. New Pers. *bar* 'bear!' Zaf. *bar*, Kāś. *ba*, Vön. *bar*, Kuhr., Kurd.

ba. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māt(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab. *māye*, Kāš. *mat*, *mōya*, Māz. *mār*, *mār*, Gīl. *mōr*, *māar*, Tāl. *mū*, Šīyn. *mād*, Minj. *māyā*, Afy. *mōr*, Bal. *māt*, N. Bal. *māθ*, *mās*, Kurd. *māk*, Dig. Oss. *mada*, Tag. *mād*.

Epenthesis of r.

§ 357. Epenthetic *r* occurs in the Indo-Iranian dialects very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṭi* 'ten millions,' Māg. Prāk. *kōḍi*, Bihārī *karōr*, *karōr*, Hindi *krōr*, Anglo-Ind. *crore*. Skt. *vyāsa* nom. prop., Apab. Prāk. *vrāsu*. Skt. *bhāṣya* 'commentary,' Prāk. *bhrāsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tašaṣ* 'shaped,' archaic New Pers. *tāštan*, Afy. *tarxaj*. Av. *baxta* 'fate,' Phl., New Pers. *baxt*, Afy. *barxa*, *braxa*. Av. *aśi dahāka* nom. prop., Phl. *ašē dahāk*, New Pers. *ašdahā* 'dragon,' Kurd. *ašdarha*, *ašdaha*.

l = l.

§ 358. Indo-Iranian *l* is in general preserved unchanged in the Indian dialects. In Old Iranian Indo-Iranian *l* was entirely lost, excepting in the foreign proper names *haldita* and *dubala* in the Old Persian inscriptions. In the Middle and New Iranian *l* reappears, sometimes representing Indo-Iranian *l*, and sometimes Indo-Iranian *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pali *lagga*, Hindi *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*. Skt. *limpati* 'smears,' Prāk. *limpat*, Pali *limpati*, Ur. *lip*, Bang. *lēp*, Hindi *lip*, *lēp*, Panj. *lipp*, *limb*, *limm*, Sindhi *limb*, Guj. *lip*, Mar. *lēp*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pali *āmalaka*, Ur. *āmala*, Bang. *aōla*, *aōla*, Hindi *āmvalā*, Panj. *aōla*, Sindhi *āmvirō*, Mar. *āmvalā*. Skt. *calati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *calax*, Pali *calati*, Ur., Bang. *cāl*, Hindi *cal*, Marw. *car*, Panj. *call*, Sindhi *cal*, Guj., Mar. *cāl*, *caḷ*. Skt., Pali *pippala* 'sort of tree,' Bang. *pippal*, Bihārī, E. Hindi *pīpar*, Panj. *pippal*, Sindhi *pipiru*, Guj. *pipal*, Mar. *pimpal*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Kāš. *lav*, Tat. *lov*, Wāxi. *lav*, *lafc*, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv* (cf. Lat. *labium*, Anglo-Saxon *lippa*). Phl. *lištanō* 'lick,' New Pers. *lištan*, Zaf., Kāš. *balēs*, Wāxi. *lixam* (cf. Skt. *lēhmi*, *rēhmi* 'I lick,' Gk. λείχω, Lith. *lēsiù*, O. H. Germ. *leckōn*). Av. *garah* 'throat,' Phl. *garūk*, New Pers. *gulū*, *galū*, Sangl. *yar*, Afy. *yāra*, Kurd. *garu* (cf. Skt. *gala*, Lat. *gula*, O. H. Germ. *kēla*).

$l > \dot{q}$.

§ 359. The change of *l* to \dot{q} is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāśa* 'green,' Śāk. Prāk. *paḍāśa*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *lalāṭa*, *nalāṭa* (cf. lexicog. Skt. *niṭāla*). Skt. *tāla* 'palmyra-palm,' Pāli *tāla*, Uṛ. *tāl*, Bang. *tāl*, other New Ind. dialects *tād*, *tār*.

$l > n$.

§ 360. The change of *l* to *n* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects. In Uṛiya and Bangālī initial *l* is almost always pronounced *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṅgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *naṅgala*, *laṅgala*, Pāli *naṅgala*, Bihārī *laṅgal*, Mar. *nāṅgar*, Sirhh. *nagula*, *nagala*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *nalāṭa*, *lalāṭa*. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāsm., Uṛ., Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindi *nōn*, *nūn*, *lūn*, Panj. *nūn*, Sindhi *lūnu*, Guj. *lūn*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *luṇṭ(h)ā* 'robbery,' Uṛ. *nuṭṭ*, Hindi *luṭ*, Anglo-Ind. *loot*. Skt. *dēhālī* 'threshold,' Pāli *dēhani*. Skt. *jambūla* 'rose-apple tree,' Bihārī *jāmun*.

$l > r$.

§ 361. The change of *l* to *r* is the most frequent of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *l* is subject. In Old Iranian, as already noted in § 358, original *l* has become *r* throughout.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvāra*, Pāli *yamala*. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *pippala* 'sort of tree,' E. Hindi *pīpar*, Sindhi *pīpiru*, etc. (see § 358).

Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pali *sāmala*, E. Hindi *sāmvar*, Hindi *sāmvalā*, W. Hindi *sāmvarā*, Panj. *sāmvalā*, Sindhi *sāmviru*, *sāmvalu*, Mar. *sāmvalā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *phāla* 'plough,' New Pers. *supār*, Sarq. *spur*, Afy. *spāra*. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpas*, *lōpas*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *ruvās*, Sarq. *rapē*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*.

$l > \bar{l}$

§ 362. The change of l to \bar{l} occurs frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prak. *kāla* 'black,' Pali *kāla*, Ur. *kaḷa*, Bang., Hindi *kāla*, Panj. *kālā*, Sindhi *kārō*, Guj. *kaḷō*, Mar. *kālā*, Sinh., Maladive *kaḷu*. Skt. *sthala* 'place,' Ur., Panj. *thal*, Sindhi *tharu*, Guj., Mar. *thal*. Skt. *ṭalati* 'totters,' Ur. *ṭal*, Bang., Hindi *ṭal*, Panj. *ṭal*, Sindhi *ṭil*, *ṭar*, Guj., Mar. *ṭal*.

Syncope of l .

§ 363. The syncope of an original l is an excessively rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiñculaka* 'earth-worm,' Māg. Prak. *kiñculaḥ*, Bihārī *kēñcuwā*, *kēñcōā*. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prak. *baṭṭa*, Pali *balivadda*. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prak. (*k*)*khu*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions *khō*, *ku*, Pali *khō*.

$v = v$.

§ 364. Indo-Iranian v remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prak. *vattiā*, Pali *vattikā*, Ur. *bati*, Bang. *bāṭi*, Hindi, Panj. *batti*, Sindhi *vaṭi*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *vṛścika* 'scorpion,' Prak. *vimchia*, *vimchua*, *vimcua*, *viñcua*, Pali *vicchika*, Ur. *bichū(ā)*, Bang. *bichā*, Hindi *bichūā*, Panj. *bicchā*, Sindhi *bichūm*, *vimchā*, Guj. *vimchā*, *vichu*, Mar. *vimcū*. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prak. *paṭṭa*, Pali *pavana*, Kāśm.

pāvan, Uṛ., Bang. *paban*, other New Indian dialects *pavan*, also Hindi *paṭn*, Panj. *paṭn*, Guj. *pōn*. Skt. *navati* 'ninety,' Prāk. *natim*, Pāli *navuti*, Kāśm. *namath*, Uṛ. *nabā*, Bang. *nabbat*, Bihārī *nabbē*, Hindi, Panj. *navē*, Sindhi *navē*, Guj. *nēvuh*, Mar. *navad*.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəcaṣhvant* 'glorious,' Phl. *varc*, *varj*, New Pers. *varj*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāṭ*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Siv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *va*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vō*, Bal. *gōāt*, N. Bal. *gōāt*, *grās*, Kurd. *vāi*, bā, Tag. Oss. *vād*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gil. *varf*, Tāl. *vā*, Judæo-Pers. *vahr*, Sangl. *varf*, Minj. *varfa*, Afy. *vāvra*, Kurd. *vafr*, Zaza *vaura*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Gab. *nova*, Kāš., Šiyn. *nav*, Sarq. *nāj*, Afy. *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōz*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *noog*. Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxi *liv*, Šiyn. *dīv*, Sarq. *dēv*.

$v > \tilde{a}$

§ 365. The vocalization or samprasāraṇa of original *v* to \tilde{a} is a rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paṭna*, Hindi *paṭn*, *pavan*, Panj. *paṭn*, *pavan*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dēva* 'god,' New Ind. dialects *dēv*, also Uṛ., Bang. *dē*, Hindi *dēv*, *dēa*, Panj., Sindhi *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēnaiti* 'sees,' Old Pers. *vainahy*, Phl. *vēnaṭ*, New Pers. *bīnad*, Wāxi, Šiyn. *vinam*, Sarq. *vainam*, Afy. *vinam*, Dig. Oss. *vinun*, Tag. *unin*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Siv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yaugj*, Yayn. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukri *yō*, Oss. *yau*. Av. *avivanta* 'bevomited,' archaic New Pers. *vāmītan*, Dig. Oss. *vomun*, Tag. *āmin*.

$v > k$

§ 366. The change of *v* to *k* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəda* 'plant,' Phl. *vartā*, *gul*, New Pers. *gul* 'rose,' Samn. *vāla*, Kurd. *kulilk*.

v > *g*.

§ 367. The change of *v* to *g* occurs regularly before *u* in Pāzand and New Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *vītarata* 'crossed,' Old Pers. *viyatarayāma*, Phl. *viṭārtanō*, New Pers. *guḏāstan*, Gab. *vadārta*, Vōn. *baidor-nan*, Kuhr. *bandarnādan*, Kurd. *buhārtin*, *bahārtin*. Av. *vəhrka* 'wolf,' Phl. *var(g)*, Māz. *vurg*, Yidg. *vury*, Yayn. *aurak*, Afy. *lūg*, Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, N. Bal. *gurkh*, Kurd. *varg*, Dig. Oss. *bēray*, Tag. *bīray*. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Phl. *vaštānō*, *gaštānō*, New Pers. *gāstan*, Gab. *vāštmān*, Sarq. *γirsam*, Kurd. *gariyān*. Av. *varəsyēiti* 'does,' Phl. *vars* 'agriculture,' New Pers. *bars*, Judæo-Pers. *vars*, Kurd. *gīrān*. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vist*, New Pers. *bist*, Kāš. *visā*, *vis(sā)*, Wāxi *vist*, Sarq. *vist*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*.

It is to be noted also that Old Pers. *vi* > Mid. Pers. **vu* > Pāz., New Pers. *gu*, and that Old Pers. **vr* > Mid. Pers. **vur* > Pāz., New Pers. *gur*.

v > *gh*, *γ*.

§ 368. The change of *v* to *gh*, *γ*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Sarq. *γirsam*, etc. (see preceding §).

v > *gv*.

§ 369. The change of *v* to *gv* is regular initially before *a*-vowels in Balūči.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vəhrka* 'wolf,' Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, etc. (see § 367). Old Pers. *vasiy* 'much,' Phl. *vas*, New Pers. *bas*, Kāš. *vas*, Bal. *gvās*.

v > *n*.

§ 370. The change of *v* to *n* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Bihārī *ninānabē* (assimilation).

v > *ph*, *f*.

§ 371. The change of *v* to *ph*, *f*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *ava* 'this,' Pāz. *ō*, New Pers. *av*, *ō*, Kurd. *af*, *ava*, *āv*.

v > b.

§ 372. The change of *v* to *b* is extremely common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects (cf. the converse change of *b* to *v*, § 308).

a. Indian. Skt. *svr̥ṣṭi* 'abundance of rain,' Pāli *subbut̥thi*. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Prāk. *bapp(h)a* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' Śaur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kāśm. *bāha*, Uṛ., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindi *bā(m)ph*, Hindi *bā(m)ph*, *bhāph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *veṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Pāli *veṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāśm. *vār*, *vād*, Uṛ. *beḍha*, *bheḍa*, Bang. *beḍa*, Hindi, Panj. *beḍha*, Sindhi *vaḍehō*, Mult. *veṛhā*, Mar. *veḍhā*. Skt. *puravāsin* 'citizen,' Bihārī *purabāsi*. Skt. *viddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuddha*, Pāli *buddha*, *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuddha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kāśm. *bor*, *boḍ*, Uṛ., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindi *barā*, *barā*, *badda*, Hindi *baḍa*, Panj. *vadḍa*, W. Panj. *baḍḍa*, Sindhi *vaḍō*, Guj. *vaḍō*, Gyp. *baro*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *virala* 'thin,' Sinh. *burul*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaeti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vid*, Kāš. *vid*, *vēt*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēō*, Kurd. *bī*, *vī*. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' New Pers. *bist*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *vāta* 'wind,' New Pers. *bād*, Kurd. *bā*, *vai*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vāra* 'rain,' Phl. *vārān*, New Pers. *bārān*, Gab. *bavāra*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Māz. *vāriš*, Wāxi *vūr*, Sarq. *varaij*, *varaša*, Afy. *varyaš*, *varyas*, Kurd. *bārī(n)*, Lurī, Zaza *varān*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Av. *vana* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Afy. *vana*, Bal. *gvan*, *gōn*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Av. *husravah* 'having fair fame,' Phl. *hūsrob*, New Pers. *xusrav*.

v > bh.

§ 373. The change of *v* to *bh* is quite common in the Indian dialects, being the sound considered in the preceding paragraph further influenced by a neighbouring sibilant, aspirate or *h*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Ass. *bhāp*, Ur., Bang., *bhāp*, Hindi *bhāph*, *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *veṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Ur. *bheḍa*, *beḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

v > m.

§ 374. The change of *v* to *m* is not common in the Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāvat* 'how long,' *tāvat* 'so long,' Apab. Prāk. *jāma*, *jāum*, *jāmahiṃ*, *tāma*, *tāum*, *tāmahiṃ*, Pāli *yāva*, *tāva*. Skt. *vāśravamaṇa* nom. prop., Jaina Prāk. *vēsamana*. Skt. *viññaptika* 'request,' Bang. *minati*, E. Hindi *mintī*, Hindi *minnat*, *bintī*, Panj. *minnat*, Sindhi *minti*. Skt. *nava* 'nine,' Prāk. *ṇava*, Pāli *nava*, Kāśm. *nāu(m)*, Ur. *naa*, Bang. *nay*, Bihārī, Hindi *nāu*, Panj. *nāum*, *natūm*, Sindhi *namvam*, Guj., Mar. *nav*, Sinh. *nama*, *nava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pairi* 'around' + √*varas* 'do,' New Pers. *parvās* 'plough,' Bux. *parmās*. Skt. *varṭikā* 'partridge,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardij*, Wāxi *volc*, Afy. *maras*, *nvaras*, Bal. *guardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

v > y.

§ 375. The apparent change of *v* to *y* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects (cf. the following §).

a. Indian. Skt. *pravartati* 'proceeds,' Prāk. *payatṭat*. Skt. *divā* 'by day,' Jaina Prāk. *diya*. Skt. *dāva* 'forest,' Pāli *dāya*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *dēara*, *diara*, *dēvara*, Ur. *dēyara*, *dēyura*, Bang. *dēyar*, Hindi, Panj. *dēvar*, Sindhi *ḍeru*, Guj. *ḍer*, *dēur*, Mar. *dēvar*, *ḍir*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *juṭanō* 'gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvidan*, Afy. *šōyal*, *šōval*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāy*, Kurd. *jū(i)n*.

Syncope of v.

376. Syncope of *v* is not common in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Prāk. *jīa*, Pāli *jīva*. Skt. *divasa*

'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diāha*, Jāina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Sindhi *ḍivhu*, Mar. *divas*, Sinh. *davas*, *divas*. Skt. *trayōviṃśati* 'twenty-three,' Prāk. *tēvisa*, Pāli *tēvisa*(ti), Bihārī *tēis*, and similarly the other New Ind. dialects, excepting Sindhi *ṭrevli*, Guj. *trēvis*, Mar. *tēvis*. Skt. *upaviṣṭa* 'seated,' Prāk. *ubaviṭṭha*, *uvatiṭṭha*, Pāli *upaviṭṭha*, Hindī, Panj. *bāiṭh*, Guj. *bēs*, Mar. *bēṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāv* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gāv*, *gō*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kühr. *gōb*, Wāxi *γau*, *γā*, Šiyn. *kāv*, Sarq. *kao*, Sangl. Minj. *γao*, Yayn. *gova*, Afy. *γā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gāx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *gug*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sīv. *yu*, Kāš. *ya*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, Mukri *yō*, etc. (see § 865). Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaṣ*, etc. (see § 867). Av. *bačvara* 'ten thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *bēvar*, Dig. Oss. *bēura*, *bēra*, Tag. *bira*.

Prothesis of v.

§ 377. Prothetic *v* occurs occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ucyate* 'is said,' Prāk. *vuccat*, Śaur., Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Pāli *vuccati*. Skt. *ukta* 'said,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *vuta*. Skt. *uṣita* 'inhabited' beside *vasita*, Pāli *vuttha*, *vusita*.

b. Iranian. Av. *asəm* 'I,' Old Pers. *adam*, Tāl. *as*, Wāxi, Šiyn. *vas*, Sarq. *vas*, Yidg. *suh*, Afy. *sa*, Kurd., Oss. *as*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxi *hāθ*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *vost*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāṭ*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *urs*, Afy. *ata*, Oss. *asth*. Gk. *ᾠόν* 'egg,' Lat. *ovum*, Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuk*, Afy. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *ha'ik*, *hī*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*.

Epenthesis of v.

§ 378. Epenthetic *v* is of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chaha*, *chāya*, Pāli *chāya*, Uṛ. *chāhina*, Hindī *chām*, *chām(h)*, *chāom*, Panj. *cā(a)m*, Sindhi *chām*, *chām*, Guj. *cāmy*.

āvā > ā

§ 379. The loss of Indo-Iranian *v*, which has been noted in § 376, gives rise to various contractions in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The contraction of *āvā* to *ā* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *prabhavāmi* 'am able,' Prak. *pabhavaī*, Pāli *pabhavāmi*, Gāthā *prabhāmi*. Skt. *sambhavanti* 'are able,' Prak. *sambhavaī*, Pāli *sambhavati*, Gāthā *sambhānti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *srāyeyēti* 'chants,' Phl. *srāyāf*, New Pers. *srāyād*, Wāxi *širavam*, Sarq. *našravam*. Av. *bavāt* 'may be,' New Pers. *bād*.

ava > ā

§ 380. The contraction of *ava* to *ā* occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prak., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāśm., Uṛ. Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindi *nūn*, *lūn*, *nōn*, Panj. *nūn*, Sindhi *lūnu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *avajñā* 'contempt,' Pāli *uññā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *avasthita* 'firm,' New Pers. *ustām*, *ōstām*.

ava > ē

§ 381. The contraction of *ava* to *ē* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *avalambati* 'hangs down,' Elu *elabanavā*, Sinh. *ellanavā*, *eloān*, *olambu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navani* 'nine,' Old Pers. *navama*, Pāz., New Pers. *nūh*, Kāš. *muhdō*, Tāt. *nūf*, Wāxi, Šiyn. *nao*, Sarq. *nav*, Sangl., Minj. *nao*, Yāyn. *nau*, Kurd. *nēh*.

ava > ō

§ 382. The contraction of *ava* to *ō* is the normal one to which *ava* is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prak., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāśm., Uṛ., Bang. *lōṇ*, *nūn*, Bihārī *nōn*, *lōn*, Hindi *nōn*, *lūn*, *nūn*, Panj. *nūn*,

Sindhi *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lūṇa*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *hōi*, Śaur. Prāk. (b)*hōdi*, (b)*huvadi*, (b)*havadi*, Mag. Prāk. (b)*havaṭ*, *huvāṭ*, Apab. Prāk. *hōdi*, Pāiś. Prāk. *bhōti*, Pāli *bhavati*, *hōti*, Gāthā *bhōti*, New Ind. dialects *hō*, excepting Ur. *hē*, Sindhi *hua*, Skt. *samavasya* 'assembled,' Jaina Prāk. *samōsaḍha*, Pāli *samōsaṭa*. Skt. *avāra* 'lower,' Pāli *ōra*. Skt. *avavāda* 'counsel,' Pāli *ōvāda*, Sinh. *ovā*. Skt. *avaśyaya* 'hoar-frost,' Bang. *ōṣ*, Hindi, Panj., Guj. *ōṣ*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pravatā* 'downwards,' Phl. *frōt*, New Pers. *furōd*, Sarq. *prōd*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *nōk*, *navak*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōz*, Tag. Oss. *noog*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *avada* 'there,' Old Pers. *avadā*, Bal. *ōdā*, N. Bal. *ōdā*, Tag. Oss. *vad*. Av. *navaiti* 'ninety,' Phl. *navaṭ*, New Pers. *navad*, Afy. *navē*, Kurd. *nōt*, *nūd*.

āva > au.

§ 383. The contraction of *āva* to *au* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Apab. Prāk. *dhavalu*, Ur., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindi *dhāulā*, Sindhi *dhāumrō*, Guj. *dhōlum*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhaval*. Skt. *avatāra* 'descent,' Pāli *ōtāra*, *avatāra*, Sindhi *ātāru*, *avatāru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sarq. *yangj*, Yāyn. *yau*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Oss. *yau*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Wāxi *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

avi > ē.

§ 384. The contraction of *avi* to *ē* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyē* 'I shall be,' Gāthā *bhēsyē*. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thēra*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *thāira*, Pāli *thēra*, Mar. *thēr(aḍa)*.

avi > āi.

§ 385. The contraction of *avi* to *āi* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thāira* (inscriptions of Girnar), *thēra*, etc. (see preceding §).

āva > *ō*.

§ 386. The contraction of *āva* to *ō* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *savarə* 'might,' Phl. *gōr(īh)*, New Pers. *sōr*.

āvay > *ē*, *ai*.

§ 387. The contraction of *āvay* to *ē*, *ai*, is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kāvaya* 'royal,' Phl. *kē*, *kai*, Pāz., New Pers. *kai*.

āvi > *ā*.

§ 388. The contraction of *āvi* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *āviṣkṛta* 'manifest,' Phl. *āṣkārāk*, New Pers. *āṣkār(ā)*, *āṣkārah*, Afy. *xkāra*.

ivā > *ō*.

§ 389. The contraction of *ivā* to *ō* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativāsin* 'neighbour,' New Indian dialects *parōṣī*, *paḍōṣī*, *parōṣī*.

ivē > *ō*.

§ 390. The contraction of *ivē* to *ō* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativēṣayati* 'distributes,' Bihārī *parōṣāi*.

īva > *ī*.

§ 391. The contraction of *īva* to *ī* is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jivahy*, Phl. *šwas-tanō*, New Pers. *astan*, Kurd. *šin*, *šiin*. Phl. *dipīvar* 'scribe,' *dipīr(īh)*, New Pers. *dibīr*.

ēvā > *ī*.

§ 392. The contraction of *ēvā* to *ī* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Mar. *dār*, *dēvar*, etc. (see § 375).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *dēvānah* 'bedevilled,' Kurd. *dīn*.

wa > *ā*.

§ 393. The contraction of *wa* to *ā* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yvan*, New Pers. *juvān-mard*, Kurd. *jānmardi*.

wa > *ā*, *ō*.

§ 394. The contraction of *wa* to *ā*, *ō*, is the normal one to which *wa* is subject.

b. Iranian. Iran. **vadhvaka* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō(g)*, Kurd. *bak*. Av. *drvatāt* 'health,' Phl. *drūt*, Paz. *durūd*, New Pers. *durūd*.

ś = *ṣ*.

§ 395. Indian *ś* is retained but seldom in the Indian dialects. In the Middle Indian dialects the Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, Avāntikā, and Śākari alone preserve *ś*. Of the New Indian dialects Gujarātī and Marāṭhī often retain *ś*, although great confusion in the use of *ś* and *s* prevails. Hindi and Sindhi indeed write *ś*, but pronounce the *ś* as *s*, while in Bangālī *ś* is pronounced *ṣ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāli. Prāk. *sata*, Māg. Prāk. *śada*, Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Kāśm. *hat*, Uṛ. *śaē*, Bang. *śaya*, Hindi, Panj. *śāi*, *sāu*, Sindhi *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*, Guj. *šel*. Skt. *śīrsa* 'head,' Prāk. *śisa*, *sissa*, Pāli *śisa*, Hindi, Panj. *śis*, Sindhi *sist*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śi(m)s*, Eḷu *hisa*, Sinh. *isa*, *iha*. Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *asti*, Pāli *asīti*, Ass. *ṣit*, Kāśm. *śīth*, Uṛ. *aśi*, Bang. *aśi*, Bihārī, Hindi, Panj. *asī*, Sindhi *aśi*, Guj. *ēmī*, Mar. *ēmī*. Skt. *dēśīya* 'native,' Pāli *dēsiya*, Uṛ., Bang. *dēśi(ya)*, Hindi, Panj. *dēśi*, Sindhi *ḍēśi*, *ḍēhar*, Guj., Mar. *dēśi*.

ś > *ch*.

§ 396. The change of *ś* to *ch* occurs quite frequently in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śavaka* 'young animal,' Prāk. *chāva*, Pāli *chāpa*, Uṛ. *ch(u)ā*, Bang. *chā(m)*, Hindi *chōkaḍā*, Panj. *chōkaḍā*, *chōharā*, Sindhi *chōkaḍō*, Guj. *chāvō*, *chōkarō*, Mar. *chāvāḍā*, Gyp.

chavō. Skt. *śakṛt* 'once,' Pāli *chakam*. Skt. *śeṣa* 'end,' Prāk., Pāli *sēsa*, Guj. *chēvat*, *chēḍō*, *chellō*. Skt. *śana* 'hemp,' Ur. *chaṇa*, Bang. *chana*.

ś > ḍ.

§ 397. The change of ś to ḍ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāka* 'pot-herb,' Pāli *ḍāka*, *saka*, Kaśm. *hak* (cf. Skt. *ḍākini* 'sort of female demon' beside *śākini*).

ś > y.

§ 398. The change of ś to y is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvādaśanavarṣa* 'twelfth year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *barayavaṣa*, (Dhauri, Jaugada) *duvādasa-vāsa*, (Girnar) *dvādasavasa*, (Khālsi) *duvādasaṣasa*.

ś > v.

§ 399. The change of ś to v is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paraśu* 'axe,' Māhār. Prāk. *parasu*, Sirhh. *porava*, Maladive *furō*. [Really syncope of ś (cf. § 402).]

ś > s.

§ 400. The change of ś to s is the regular one to which Indian ś is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects with the exception of the dialects already noted in § 395.

a. Indian. Skt. *śōbhati* 'is beautiful,' Prāk. *sōhat*, Pāiā. Prāk. *sōbhati*, Pāli *sobbhati*. Skt. *śūśruṣā* 'obedience,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarhi and Kapur di Giri) *sūśruṣā*, Pāli *sussusā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāiā. Prāk., Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Hindi, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhi *sāu*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *asti*, Pāli *asīti*, Bihārī, Hindi, Panj. *asī*, Sindhi *asī*, Guj. *emī*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śīla* 'stone,' Prāk. *silā*, Māg. Prāk. *śilā*, Pāli *silā*, Ur. *śīla*, Bang. *śīl*, Hindi *sil*, Panj. *sil*, Sindhi *sir*, Mar. *sil*.

ś > h.

§ 401. The change of ś to h is quite common in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prak. *daha*, *dasa*, Pali *dasa*, Kāśm. *dah*, Uṛ., Bang. *daś*, *das*, Hindi *das*, Panj. *dah*, *das*, Sindhi *dah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*, Sinh. *dahaya*, *dasa*, Gyp. *deṣ*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pali *sasura*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuharā*, Sindhi *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*, Gyp. *saṣirō*, *sasrō*. Skt. *paśu* 'cattle,' Hindi (Doab, Oude) *pōhē*. Skt. *kēśari* 'lion,' Prak., Pali *kēsari*, Bihārī *kēhari*, *kēsari*, Hindi *kēhari*, Panj. *kēhar*, Sindhi *kēhari*, Guj. *kēsari*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Prak., Pali *pāsa*, Hindi *pās*, *phāms*, Panj. *pāh*, Sindhi *phāhi*, *phāst*, Guj. *pās*. Skt. *śirṣa* 'head,' Eḷu *hisa*, etc. (see § 395).

Apocope and syncope of ś.

§ 402. The loss of an initial or internal Indian *ś* occurs frequently in the Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *śirṣa* 'head,' Sinh. *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prak., Pali *siṅga*, Hindi *siṅg*, Mar. *siṅg*, Eḷu *samgu*, *aṅgu*, Sinh. *aṅga*, *si(m)gu*, *sumgu*. Skt. *śisīra* 'cold,' Prak., Pali *sisira*, Sinh. *āl*, *hāl*. Skt. *laśuna* 'onion,' Pali *lasuna*, Sinh. *lānu*.

ś = *ṣ*.

§ 403. The retention of Indian *ś* is found only in Kāśmīrī, Uṛīya, and Bangālī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prak. *sōḷaha*, Pali *sōḷasa*, *sōrasa*, Kāśm. *ṣurāh*. Uṛ. *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindi *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhi *sōraham*, Guj. *sōḷ*, Mar. *sōla*, Sinh. *soḷosa*. Skt. *mūṣa* 'mouse,' Uṛ. *mūṣā*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *mūṣā*, Gyp. *muṣō*.

ś > *kh*.

§ 404. In Hindi and Panjābī, as well as in other New Indian dialects in sporadic instances, Indian *ś* is pronounced *kh*, even if *ś* be retained in script.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṣā* 'vernacular,' Prak., Pali *bhāsā*, Nāip.

bhās, *bhakka*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *bhakka*. Skt. *mānuṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *mānusa*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *mānukh*, Sindhi *mānukhu*, Gyp. *manuṣ*.

In the *tadbhava* forms of these *semitatsamas* we find, as we should expect, *bhāsā*, *mānus*, etc.

§ > *ch*.

§ 405. The change of § to *ch* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṣ* 'six,' Prāk., Pāli *cha*, Kāśm. *ṣah*, *ṣih*, Uṛ. *chaa*, Bang. *chaya*, Bihārī *cha*, Hindi *cha*, *chē*, Panj. *chē*, Sindhi *cha(h)*, Guj. *cha*, Mar. *sah(a)*, Old Sinh. *caka*, Sinh. *haya*, *saya*, Gyp. *ṣo(v)*. Skt. *ṣaṭpada* 'bee,' Prāk. *chappaa*, Jaina Prāk. *chappaya*.

§ > *y*.

§ 406. The apparent change of § to *y* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karṣa* 'dry cow-dung,' Prāk., Pāli *karisa*, Sinh. *kiriya* (cf. § 422).

§ > *ś*.

§ 407. The change of § to *ś* occurs only in Middle Indian, where it is due to learned influence.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvṛṣanti* 'they seek,' Mag. Prāk. *anvṛṣanti*. Skt. *alabhiṣyanti* 'they will be immolated,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *arabhiṣamti* (cf. the parallel passages *ārabhiṣamrē* Girnar, *ālābhāyisamti* Dhauri, *ālabbhiyisamti* Jaugada, *ālābbhiyisamti* Khalsi).

§ > *s*.

§ 408. The change of § to *s* is the normal one to which Indian § is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, *sōrasa*, Uṛ. *sōḷaḷa*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindi *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlah*, Sindhi *sōraham*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, Sinh. *solosa*, etc. (see § 403). Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̐r*, Bang. *ṣam̐r*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sām̐r*, Panj. *sām̐ḥ*, Sindhi *sānu*, Mult. *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sām̐ḍ*. Skt. *vṛṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*,

usaha, Pali *vasabha*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pali *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Hindi *purīṣ*, semitatisama *purukh*.

$\text{ṣ} > \text{h}$.

§ 409. The change of ṣ to h is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ekaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-one,' Jaina Prāk. *egahaṭṭhi*, *egasaṭṭhi*, *egayaṭṭhi*, *egavaṭṭhi*, *egaṭṭhi*, Kāśm. *ekahāiṭh*, Panj. *ikāhaṭ*, Sindhi *ekahaṭhi*. Skt. *viṣa* 'poison,' Prāk., Pali *visa*, Panj. *biḥ*, *bis*, Sindhi *viḥu*.

$\text{s} = \text{s}$.

§ 410. Indo-Iranian s is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects Indo-Iranian s normally becomes h . Iranian s , arising from Indo-Germanic k (Old Indian ś , see also §§ 395–402), remains unchanged in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pali *satta*, Kāśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang. *sāta* (pron. *ṣatō*), Bihārī, Hindi *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhi *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Māhār. Prāk. *siṃgha*, *siṃha*, Pali *sīha*, Hindi, Panj. *siṃgh*, Sindhi *siṃghō*, *siṃhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Prāk., Pali *kappāsa*, Ur. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpās*, Hindi *kapās*, Panj., Sindhi *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*. Skt., Pali *atast* 'linseed,' Ur. *tēst*, Bang. *tiśt*, E. Hindi *tist*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarah* 'head,' Phl., New Pers. *sar*, Wāxi, Sangl., Minj. *sar*, Afy., Bal., Kurd., Oss. *sar*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxi *sūr(i)*, Sarq. *pat-soram*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Phl. *kas*, Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, Gab. *kasūk*, Zaf., Kāā. *kas*, Vön. *kassar*, Nāy. *kas*, Afy. *kaśr*, Bal. *kas(s)ān*, Oss. *khashtar*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxi *das*, *las*, Šiyn. *dis*, *lis*, Sarq. *des*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yaʿyn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *paēsa* 'leprosy,' Old Pers. *πιδάγας*, Phl. *pēsak*, New Pers. *pēs*, Gab. *pisk*, Afy. *pēs(ai)*, Kurd. *pis(aḡ)*.

$s > ch$.

§ 411. The change of s to ch is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *sudhā* 'ambrosia,' Prāk. *chuhā*, Pāli *sudhā*. Skt. *sirā* 'vein,' Prāk. *chirā*, *sirā*, Pāli *sirā*. Skt. *sūtradhāra* 'carpenter,' Ur., Bang. *chutār* (pron. *sutār*). Skt. *siṃcati* 'sprinkles,' Prāk. *simcat*, Pāli *siṃcati*, Bihārī *chūncāi*, *simcāi*, Mar. *simcaṇēm*.

$s > j(h)$.

§ 412. The change of s to $j(h)$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *hamsa* 'goose,' Prāk., Pāli *hamsa*, Hindi *hāms*, Sindhi *hamj(h)u*, Sinh. *has*.

$s > t$.

§ 413. The change of s to t is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sax^oārō* 'word,' Phl. *saxun*, New Pers. *suxun*, Siv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*. Gr. *kópos* 'satiety,' New Pers. *sēr*, Kurd. *tēr* (Justi, Kurd. Gramm. 64, compares also the Av. *āp. ley. θātairi*, Yt. x, 14).

$s > th, \theta$.

§ 414. The change of s to th, θ , occurs frequently only in Old Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Wāxi *sōkr*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Gr. *kópos* 'satiety,' Av. *θātairi*, etc. (? see preceding §).

$s > d$.

§ 415. The change of s to d is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kāśm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhi *sahasu*, Sinh. *dahasia*, *das*, *dāha* (d for s by false analogy with Sinh. *dahaya* 'ten,' Skt. *daśan*, etc.).

s > *v*.

§ 416. The change of *s* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Kurd. *dae*, etc. (see § 410).

s > *ś*.

§ 417. The change of *s* to *ś* is very rare. In East Hindi *ś* is often written for *s*, although *s* is retained in pronunciation. This lax writing is very frequent in Gujarātī and in Marāṭhī most of all (cf. §§ 395, 400). The change of *s* to *ś* is regular in Magadhī, Ardhamagadhī, and Śākartī Prakrit, and the Avantikā Prakrit also shows numerous examples of this development.

a. Indian. Skt. *vilāsa* 'coquetry,' Mag. Prak. *vilāśe*, Māhār. Prak., Pali *vilāsa*. Skt. *sabhika* 'keeper of a gambling-house,' Mag. Prak. *śahia*. Skt. *anūsāsana* 'instruction,' Prak. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *anuśāsaṇa*, Māhār. Prak. *aṇuśasaṇa*, Pali *anusāsana*.

s > *ṣ*.

§ 418. The change of *s* to *ṣ*, apart from the regular development in Old Indian of *ṣ* from *s* after *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *r*, *ḷ*, *ḍ*, is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Prak. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *uyanaṣi* 'in a garden,' beside *uyānaṣi* (inscriptions of Dhaulī, Jaugada, Khālsī). Skt. *bhaviṣyāsi* 'thou wilt be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyāsi*.

s > *ś*.

§ 419. The change of Iranian *s* to *ś* is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śāṇa* 'whetstone,' New Pers. *sān*, *aṣān*, dialectic *šan*, Wāxi, Sarq. *pasān*. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūsan*, *sōsan*, New Pers. *sōsan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf. *sōsō*, Wāxi *siē*, Sarq. *siē*, Bal. *sūcin*, *siēin*, N. Bal. *sišin*, *śišan*, *śišin*, Kurd. *śāšin*, *sūšin*. Skt. *śakṛt* 'excrement,' Afy. *yō-śāk*, *yō-śōē*, N. Bal. *sayan*. Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *śuś*, Gab. *sus*, Afy. *sayai*.

s > z.

§ 420. The change of *s* to *z* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūrya* 'breakfast,' Phl. *sūr*, New Pers. *surmai* 'trumpet,' Tāt *surmai*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, Tāt *pas*, Wāxi *pus*, *pos*, Sarq. *p(i)ās*, Afy. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *pas*, Dig. Oss. *fuss*, Tag. *fiss*. Av. *x^oasura* 'father-in-law,' New Pers. *xusur*, Wāxi *xurs*, Afy. *scar*, N. Bal. *vasarik*, Kurd. *xasūr*, *xasr*, *xaur*.

s > h.

§ 421. The change of Indian *s* to *h*, which is very similar to the Iranian *h* developed from Indo-Germanic *s*, where the Old Indian retains *s*, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. The change is regular in South-Eastern Bangālī (e. g. Bang. *sakal* 'all,' S.-E. Bang. *hakal*), and it occurs very frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and Sinhalese. Iranian *s* becomes *h* only internally in Middle and New Persian.

a. Indian. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śaur., Jaina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divas*, Sinh. *davaha*, *davasa*, Gyp. *divēs*. Skt. *ekasaptati* 'seventy-one,' Kāsm. *akasatath*, Uṛ. *ekastōri*, Bang. *ekattar*, Bihārī *ekahattar*, Hindi *ikahattar*, Panj. *ikhattar*, Sindhī *ekahatari*, Guj. *ikōtēr*, Mar. *ekahattar*, cf. Jaina Prāk. *hattari* 'seventy,' Sinh. *hättāva*, *sättāva*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, etc. (see § 410). Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Uṛ., Bang. *sāpa*, Hindi *sānp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Sinh. *hapu*, *sapu*, *sap(a)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, etc. (see preceding §).

Aphaeresis and syncope of s.

§ 422. The loss of initial or internal *s* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śdati* 'sits,' Prāk. *śtai*, *śadai*, Pāli *śdati*, Sinh. *indīnavā*, *himīdinavā*. Skt. *prasāda* 'favour,' Māhar. Prāk. *pasāya*, Pāli *pasāda*, Sinh. *pāya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷasura* 'father-in-law,' Kurd. *xaur*, *xasūr*, *xasūr*, etc. (see § 420).

$\bar{s} = \bar{s}$.

§ 423. Iranian \bar{s} remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Bahb. *šud*, Wāxi *cauam*, Šiyn. *sārum*, Sarq. *sōm*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuda*, Kurd. *ciān*, *cūn*, Oss. *šaum*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gaūša*, Phl. New Pers. *gōš*, Šir. Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxi *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiyn. *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afy. *γvaš*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*. Av. *raēšah* 'wound,' Phl. New Pers. *rēš*, Afy. *raš*.

$\bar{s} > c, \bar{c}$.

§ 424. The change of \bar{s} to *c*, \bar{c} , is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Wāxi *cauam*, Kurd. *ciān*, *cūn*, Oss. *šaum*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\bar{s} > j$.

§ 425. The change of \bar{s} to *j* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baēšasa* 'physician,' Phl. *bējašk*, *bijašk*, *bēšasaš*, New Pers. *bijišk*, *bisišk*.

$\bar{s} > l$.

§ 426. The change of \bar{s} to *l* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Sarq. *γaul*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *šupuš*, Wāxi *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaša*, Kurd. *sipi*, *aspe*, Oss. *sisth*.

$\bar{s} > s$.

§ 427. The change of \bar{s} to *s* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Bahb. *šud*, Šiyn. *sārum*, Sarq. *sōm*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afy. *sayai*. New Pers. *šūr* 'salt,' Siv. *sūr*, Bal. *sūrag*, N. Bal. *šōray*, *sōr*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

š > s.

§ 428. The change of š to s occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šekam* 'belly,' New Pers. *bikam*, *iškam*, Kurd. *sik*. Av. *xšvaš* 'six,' Phl. *šaš(um)*, New Pers. *šaš*, Wāxi *šād*, *šāl*, Šiyn. *xauš*, Afy. *špaš*, Oss. *axsas*.

š > ṣ̌.

§ 429. The change of š to ṣ̌ is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Šiyn. *γūš*, Afy. *γvaš*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *aš*, Šiyn. *yūrš*, Sarq. *yūrx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaš*, Kurd. *hirš*, *hirc*, *virç*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *kušaiti* 'kills,' Phl. *kuštanō*, New Pers. *kuštan*, Kurd. *bukušim*.

š > h.

§ 430. The change of š to h is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *rēš(ak)* 'beard,' New Pers. *riš(ah)*, Citrālī *rixīš*, *rikiš*, Wāxi *rēyiš*, Minj. *yarša*, Afy. *šira*, Kurd. *rēh*, *ri*, Dig. Oss. *rēxē*, Tag. *rixī*.

Apocope of š.

§ 431. The loss of final š occurs occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Yidg. *γū*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, etc. (see § 426).

s = z.

§ 432. Iranian s remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *sānu* 'knee,' Phl. *sānūk*, New Pers. *sānū*, Wāxi *sān*, Sarq. *sūn*, Sangl. *song*, Afy. *sangūn*, *čangūn*, Bal. *sān*, Kurd. *sāna*, *ašnōh*. Av. *sərədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *silah*, Gil. *sil*, Šiyn. *sarəð*, *səray*, Sarq. *sard*, Sangl. *usəray*, Minj. *sil*, Afy. *sə*, Bal. *sirdē*, Kurd. *sar*, Oss. *sarda*. Av. *maēsenti* 'they make water,' Phl. *mēsītanō*, New Pers. *mēsī-*

dan, Afy. *mītal*, Bal. *mīṣay*, *mēṣay*, Kurd. *mīstin*, *mīstīn*, Dig. Osa. *mēṣun*, Tag. *mīṣin*. New Pers. *pās* 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pās*, Sangl. *fusik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pāsa*, *pasa*, Bal. *pā(ñ)s*, N. Bal. *phōñs*, Kurd. *pās*, *pūs*, Dig. Osa. *finja*, Tag. *fiṅg*.

s > *j*.

§ 433. The change of *s* to *j* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sauua* 'chin,' New Pers. *samax*, Šiyn. *siṅgā*, Sarq. *sangān*, Afy. *jana*, *sana*. Afy. *jōš* 'son' beside *sōš* (from *√san* 'to be born').

s > *z*.

§ 434. The change of *s* to *z* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *darasa* 'bond,' New Pers. *dars*, Osa. *daras* 'garment.'

s, š > *ṣ*.

§ 435. The change of *s, š* to *ṣ* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *kāṣah* 'hunter's hut,' beside *kāšah*, *kašah*.

s > *š*.

§ 436. The change of *s* to *š* is found occasionally.

b. Iranian. Av. *simō* 'of winter,' Phl. New Pers. *sam*, Waxi *sam*, Šiyn. *simj*, *sinj*, Sarq. *samān*, Afy. *šimai*, *simai*, *jimai*, Dig. Osa. *sumag*, Tag. *simag*.

s > *h*.

§ 437. The change of *s* to *h* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāsu* 'arm,' Phl. *bāstih*, *bāsak*, New Pers. *bāsu*, Gab. *bāi*, Kaš. *bōi*, *bōhi*, *bōhū*, Siv. *bāi*, Xor. *bahā*, Judaeo-Pers. *bāhai*.

Syncope of s

§ 438. The loss of internal *s* occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāsu* 'arm,' Gab. *bāi*, Kaš. *bōi*, *bōhi*, *bōhū*, Siv. *bāi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{š} = \text{ś}$.

§ 439. Iranian š is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Paz. *dōšax*, New Pers. *dōsax*, Afy. *dōšax*, *dōsax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōsak*, *dōsē*, N. Bal. *dōsax*, *dōšē*, Kurd. *dūšē*. Av. *dušaka* 'leech,' Phl. *šūšak*, New Pers. *šūšah*, Gab. *jujīk*.

$\text{š} > \gamma$.

§ 440. The change of š to γ is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Afy. *dōyaš*, *dōšax*, *dōsax*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{š} > j$.

§ 441. The change of š to j is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušaka* 'leech,' Gab. *jujīk*, etc. (see § 439).

$\text{š} > \text{ś}$.

§ 442. The change of š to ś is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, etc. (see § 439—properly speaking, no change of š to ś occurs here, since Pahlavi possesses no sign for ś , and employs the character for š instead).

$\text{š} > \text{z}$.

§ 443. The change of š to z is the most common one of all those changes to which Iranian š is subject in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' New Pers. *dōsax*, Afy. *dōsax*, *dōšax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōsak*, *dōsē*, N. Bal. *dōsax*, *dōšē*, etc. (see § 439).

$h = \text{h}$.

§ 444. Indian h is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, and Iranian h (corresponding to Indian s) is, in like manner, retained in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hatta*, Ass. *hāt(h)*, Kāśm. *ath*, Uṛ. *hāt(h)a*, Bang. *hāt*, Bihārī, Hindi *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhi *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Sinh. *ata*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Uṛ., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāum*, Sindhi *himamu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*. Skt. *mahārga* 'costly,' Pāli *mahagga*, Ass. *mahamgā*, *magar*, Nāip. *mahamgō*, E. Hindi, Hindi *mahamgā*, Panj. *mahimgā*, Sindhi *mahamgō*, Guj. *mōmghum*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lōha* 'iron,' Uṛ. *lōha*, *luhā*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *lōha*, Guj., Mar. *lōh*, Sindhi *lōhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haēna* 'army,' Old Pers. *hainā*, Phl. *Pāz hīn*. Av., Old Pers. *hama* 'all,' Phl. *hamak*, Pāz. *hamā*, New Pers. *hamah*, Bal. *hama(k)*, Kurd. *hamū*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Wāxi *hūb*, *hub*, *ub*, *vūed*, Šiyn. *vūd*, Sarq. *ūd*, Sangl. *haft*, Minj. *ēd*, Yaʿyn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Phl. *vahār*, New Pers. *bahār*, Kāš. *bohōr*, *vōr*, Oss. *valjag*.

$h > k$.

§ 445. The change of *h* to *k* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *hintāla* 'kind of palm,' Pāli *kintala*, Sinh. *kitul*, *hitul*.

$h > kh, x$.

§ 446. The change of *h* to *kh, x*, is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects, where it occurs more usually initially than internally or finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl. *xušk(īh)*, New Pers. *xušk*, Srv. *fušk*, Kāš. *huškudan*, *uškudan*, Wāxi *vask*, Yidg. *ušk*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušk*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, Oss. *xusk*. Av. *hi* 'pig,' Phl., New Pers. *xūk*, Wāxi *xūg*, Sarq. *xaug*, Afy. *xūg*, Bal. *hik*, N. Bal. *hix*, Kurd. *xū*, Oss. *xui*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Sarq. *yaiθ*, Yaʿyn. *itk*, Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōšax*, New Pers. *dōšax*, Afy. *dōšax*, *dōšax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōšak*, *dōšē*, N. Bal. *dōšax*, *dōšē*, Kurd. *dūšē*.

$h > c$.

§ 447. The change of h to c is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamcū* 'as,' Siv. *camcah* (assimilation).

$h > ph, f$.

§ 448. The change of h to ph, f , is very rare, and it seems to occur only initially.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Siv. *fušk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > bh$.

§ 449. The change of h to bh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāra* nom. prop., Jāina Prak., Pali *vēbhāra*.

$h > v$.

§ 450. The change of h to v is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxi *vūvd*, (*h*)*ub*, *hub*, Šiyn. *vuvd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Wāxi *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > y, i$.

§ 451. The vocalization of h to y, i , occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *māh* 'month,' Phl., New Pers. *māh*, Wāxi *mūi*, Šiyn. *mast*, Sarq. *mās*, Minj. *yomya*, Afy. *maī*, Dig. Oss. *maya*, Tag. *mai*.

$h > s$.

§ 452. The change of h to s is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāihika* 'oily,' Pali *snēsika* (but Pali *s(i)nēha* 'love,' Skt. *snēha*).

$h > š$.

§ 453. The change of h to $š$ is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāz*, Afy. *nmūnš*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nimāš*, *nimī*.

$h > s, š$.

§ 454. The change of h to $s, š$, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāš*, Kurd. *nimīš*, *nimī*, etc. (see preceding §).

Aphaeresis of h

§ 455. The loss of initial h is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, the phenomenon is not infrequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Kāśm. *ath*, Sinh. *ata*, etc. (see § 444).

b. Iranian. Av. *hanjamana* 'assembly,' Phl. *anjaman*, *hanjaman*, New Pers. *anjuman*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxi *ub*, *hub*, *hūb*, *vūd*, Sarq. *ūd*, Minj. *ēd*, Yāyn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Kāś. *uškudan*, *huškudan*, Yidg. *ušk*, etc. (see § 446). Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *as*, *š(i)*, Afy. *j-*, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *aš*, *š(a)*.

Syncope of h

§ 456. The loss of internal h is very rare in the Indian dialects, although it is more frequent in the New than in the Middle period. The phenomenon occurs more often in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ihalōka* 'this world,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *ialōka*. Skt. *brhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bahapḥai*, *bhayappḥai*, *bihappḥai*, *buhappḥai*, *buhappai*, *bahassai*, *bahappai*, *bhaassai*, *bhuappḥai*, *buhaspadi*, Uṛ. *biphai* 'Thursday,' Bihārī *biphai*, *bihaphai*. Skt. *gēhinī* 'woman,' Prāk. *gharinī*, Sinh. *gāṇi*, *girini*. Skt. *vr̥thi* 'rice,' Pali *viṭhi*, Sinh. *vi*.

b. Iranian. Av. *voḥuni* 'blood,' Phl., New Pers. *xūn*, Stv. *fin*, Wāxi *vuzan*, Šiyn. *viṣin*, Sarq. *vazin*, Sangl. *vain*, Afy. *vinē*, Kurd. *xēn*. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Kāś. *vōr*, *bohōr*, etc. (see § 444).

Apocope of h

§ 457. The loss of final *h* occurs but rarely.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Kurd. *nimī*, *nimīš*, etc. (see § 453).

Prothesis of h

§ 458. Prothetic *h* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the New Indian dialects it occurs but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *idanim* 'now,' Prak. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *hidālōkika*, lit. Prak. *dāni(m)*. Skt. *edṛśa* 'of that kind,' Prak. *erisa*, (inscriptions of Khālsi) *heḍisa*. Skt. *atra* 'there,' Prak. (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hetā*, Bang. *hotha*, *oṭha*. Skt. *oṣṭha* 'lip,' Prak., Pali *oṭṭha*, Uṛ. *oṭha*, Bang. *hō(m)ṭh*, Hindi *omṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *hōṭ*, *oṭh*, Mar. *omṭh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēθrapaiti* 'fire-priest,' Phl. inscriptions *ehrapat*, lit. Phl. *hērapat*, *ērapat*, New Pers. *herbud*. Av. *aōšah* 'death,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *as(p)a*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *as*, Wāxi *yaš*, Minj. *yasap*, Afy. *as*, Bal. *haps*, *aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*.

Epenthesis of h

§ 459. Epenthetic *h* is extremely rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *māna* 'measure,' Uṛ. *mahana*, Hindi *man*, Mar. *maṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jik*, New Pers. *sih*, Kāš. *yah*, *ša*, Afy. *šai*, N. Bal. *jty*, Kurd. *ših*.

CONSONANT-GROUPS

§ 460. In the sections dealing with vowels and single consonants, similarity of development, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, has been the rule rather than the exception. In the following paragraphs differences will be found more often than resemblances. Comparatively few consonant-groups have developed in the same way in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Indian languages have continued the tendency already observable in the Middle Indian. The component sounds of consonant-groups are assimilated, and the resulting repeated consonant is either retained, or one of the letters is dropped with compensatory lengthening of a preceding short vowel. In the Iranian languages, on the other hand, a consonant-group is in the majority of instances softened as a whole, and this secondary consonant-group may be retained without further change in the New Iranian dialects. As a result of these developments with principles which are radically different, consonant-groups in Iranian are less easy to systematize than those in the Indian languages. For the Indian dialects the classification of Beames, *Comparative Grammar*, i. 281-282 (cf. 359-360), into the 'strong, weak, and mixed nexus' is admirable. But since in the Iranian dialects the consonant-group is softened and retained instead of being simplified, such secondary consonant-groups are subject to many tertiary developments. Moreover, it will be seen in many instances noted in the following paragraphs that the component consonants of a consonant-group, in the Middle and New Iranian dialects, may each be modified according to the changes to which they are liable as single consonants.

The essential difference in the treatment of consonant-groups in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects renders the discussion in

the present chapter less satisfactory in results, in some respects, than has been the case with the consideration of the vowels and single consonants. On the other hand, it will not be without interest to note how two closely-related members of the same language-group agree in general in certain parts of their phonology, but at the same time are radically different in other portions of it. Notwithstanding this, the divergent developments of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages are no less instructive than their coincident changes, and a survey of disagreement as well as of agreement is absolutely necessary if a correct knowledge of the entire subject under discussion is to be gained.

kt > k(k).

§ 461. The assimilation of *kt* to *k(k)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *utkaṇṭhā* 'anxiety,' Prāk. *ukkaṇṭhā*, Pali *ukkaṇṭhati* 'regrets.' Skt. *mukta* 'released,' Prāk. *mukka*, Pali *mukka*, *mutta*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śakta* 'able,' Phl., New Pers. *saxt*, Yidg. *sukt*, Bal. *sak*.

kt > gđ, γđ.

§ 462. The softening of the consonant-group *kt* to *gđ, γđ*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakta* 'night,' Wāxī *naγđ*. Skt. *takta* 'swift,' Oss. *thaγđ*.

ktz > γz, sz.

§ 463. The assimilation of *ktz* to *γz, sz*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxta* 'burned' + *saranya* 'gold,' Dig. Oss. *suysarina*, Tag. *sisyarin*.

kt > t(t).

§ 464. The assimilation of *kt* to *t(t)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhakta* 'boiled rice,' Prāk., Pali *bhatta*, Kāsm. *bata*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindi, W. Hindi *bhat*, Panj. *bhatt*,

Sindhi *bhatu*, Guj., Mar. *bhāt*. Skt. *mukta* 'pearl,' Prak., Pali *mutta*, Ur. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, *māuktikā*, *muktā*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *mōti*. Skt. *rakta* 'red,' Prak., Pali *ratta*, Ur., Bang. *rakta*, Hindi *rāt*, Sindhi *rātō*, Guj. *rātu*, Sinh. *rat*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *puxtano* 'to cook,' New Pers. *puxtān*, Kāš. *patan*, *pōtan*, Wāxi *pōcam*, Afy. *paravul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Dig. Oss. *ficun*, Tag. *ficin*. Phl. *sōxtano* 'to burn,' New Pers. *sōxtān*, Māg. *sūt*, Gil. *sūt*, *sūrt*, Tāl. *sūt*, Afy. *sēsal*, *sējāl*, *svajavul*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Kurd. *sōtin*, Bohtani *suh̄tin*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sōjin*.

kt > *pht*, *ft*.

§ 465. The assimilation of *kt* to *pht*, *ft*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt* 'pair,' New Pers. *juft*, Afy. *juxt*, Kurd. *cuxt*. New Pers. *anjūstān* 'to be wrinkled' beside *anjūxtān*.

kt > *ht*.

§ 466. The assimilation of *kt* to *ht* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pakta* 'cooked,' New Pers. *puxtah*, Wāxi *pōšt*, Šiyn. *pašt*, Sarq. *paxt*, Bal. *pakta*, N. Bal. *pahta*, Dig. Oss. *funx(th)*, Tag. *fixth*. Phl. *sōxtano* 'to burn,' Bohtani *suh̄tin*, etc. (see § 464).

ktr > *lkh*, *lx*.

§ 467. The assimilation of *ktr* to *lkh*, *lx*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, New Pers. *balx*.

ktr > *hr*.

§ 468. The assimilation of *ktr* to *hr* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baxdra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*, *barx*.

kth > (*t*)*th*.

§ 469. The assimilation of *kth* to (*t*)*th* is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *siktha* 'beeswax,' Prak., Pali *sittha*, Hindi *sith*, *sīth*, Panj. *sēth*, *sēt*, Mar. *sit*. Skt. *śakthi* 'thigh,' Pali *sattihi*.

kn > nn.

§ 470. The assimilation of *kn* to *nn* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaknōti* 'is able,' Prāk. *sakkat*, Pāli *sakkati*, *sakkōti*, *sakkunāti*, Hindī *sak*, Sindhi *sagh*, Guj., Mar. *śak*.

km > m(m).

§ 471. The assimilation of *km* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukmaṇa* 'sort of metre,' Pāli *rummaṇa*.

b. Iranian. Av. **staxma* 'firm' (cf. Av. *staxra*), Phl. *sitahmak*, New Pers. *sitam* 'violence.' Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *tōxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxī *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afy. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*.

km > gm, γm.

§ 472. The softening of the consonant-group *km* to *gm*, *γm*, is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Av. *taoxmān* 'seed,' Wāxī *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, etc. (see preceding §).

km > p(p).

§ 473. The assimilation of *km* to *p(p)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukmini* 'Lakṣmī,' Prāk. *ruppiṇi*.

ky > k(k).

§ 474. The assimilation of *ky* to *k(k)* occurs occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *cāṇakya* nom. prop., Prāk. *cāṇakka*. Skt. *outsukya* 'zeal,' Pāli *ussukka*. Skt. *trāilōkya* 'the three worlds,' Prāk. *tellokka*, *tēlokka*.

kr > k(k).

§ 475. The assimilation of *kr* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prāk., Pali *cakka*, Ass. *cāk*, Ur. *caka*, Bang. *cākā*, E. Hindi, Hindi *cak*, Panj. *caḥh*, Sindhi *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cak*, Sinh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Sinh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

kr > *r(r)*.

§ 476. The assimilation of *kr* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *suzra* 'red,' Phl. *suzr*, New Pers. *surx*, Siv. *str*, Kāš., Kuhr. *sūr*, Wāxi *sōkr*, Šīyn., Sarq. *strah*, Yidg. *surkuh*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*.

kr > *hr*.

§ 477. The assimilation of *kr* to *hr* is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cazra* 'wheel,' New Pers. *carx*, *cahrah*, Kāš. *cōra*, *cīr*, Oss. *čalx*. Av. *suzra* 'red,' Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, etc. (see preceding §).

kl > *l(l)*.

§ 478. The assimilation of *kl* to *l(l)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kliṣṭa* 'sick,' Prāk., Pali *kiliṭṭha*, Sinh. *leḍa*.

kv > *k(k)*.

§ 479. The assimilation of *kv* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pali *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Naip. *pāk*, Kāsm. *papi*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindi *pākal*, Hindi, Panj. *pakka*, Sindhi *pakō*, Guj. ✓ *pik*, *pak* 'to ripen,' Mar. *pik*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pako*.

kṣ > *k(k)*.

§ 480. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *k(k)* is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects as well as in the Indian dialects, excepting Bangālī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *bubhukṣā* 'hunger,' Pali *bubhukkhati*, Hindi

bhakh, Sindhi *bukhā*, Mar. *bhuk*, Gyp. *bokh*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Prāk. *khira*, *chira*, Pali *khira*, Kaf. *su*, New Ind. dialects *khir*, Sinh. *kiri*, *kira*, Maladive *kiru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Srv., Judæo-Pers. *magaz*, Wāxi *maks*, Minj. *muya*, Afy. *mac*, Bal. *makask*, *magisk*, N. Bal. *mahisk*, Kurd. *miš*.

kṣ > *kkh*.

§ 481. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *kkh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *makṣika* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Pali *makkhikā*, Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Ur. *mā(m)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(m)stī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindi *mā(m)chī*, Hindi *makkhī*, *mā(m)khī*, Panj. *makkhī*, Sindhi *makhī*, Guj. *mākhī*, Mar. *maklū*, *māstī*, Gyp. *makhī*. Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dakkhiṇa*, *dāhiṇa*, Pali *dakkhiṇa*, Kāśm. *dachan*, Ur. *dāhina*, *ḍahāna*, Bang. *ḍāin*, E. Hindi *dachin*, Hindi *dakhin*, *dāhina*, Panj. *dakkhan*, Sindhi *ḍakhiṇō*, Mar. *ḍakhīṇ*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Prāk., Pali *pakkha*, Kāśm. *pakh(a)*, E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bang. *pākhī*, Bihārī *pankh* 'wing,' *pāhim* 'beside,' *panchī* 'bird,' Hindi *pakhī*, *pānchī*, Panj. *pāmchī*, Sindhi *pangu*, Guj. *pāmchī*, Mar. *pākh*, *pāmchī*, Sinh. *pak*, *pasa*, Gyp. *phak*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, *xašava*, Yidg. *xšuvuh*, Yāyn. *xišap*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axsav*.

kṣ > *khs*, *xs*.

§ 482. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *khs*, *xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' Oss. *axsav*, etc. (see preceding §).

kṣ > *g(g)*.

§ 483. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *g(g)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Srv., Judæo-Pers. *magaz*, Bal. *magisk*, *makask*, etc. (see § 480).

$kṣ > c(c)$.

§ 484. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $c(c)$ is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudda*, Pāli *khudda*, Uṛ. *khudata*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Sinh. *cuḍi*, Sinh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*.

b. Iranian. Av. **xšapacara* 'bat,' Bal. *šapcar*, Makrānī *capcal* (assimilation).

$kṣ > (c)ch$.

§ 485. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $(c)ch$ is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *riccha*, *rikkha*, Pāli *accha*, *ikka*, *is(s)a*, Uṛ. *richa*, Bihārī *rich*, *rikkh*, Hindi *rich*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhi *richu*, Guj. *rich*, Mar. *ris*. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchia*, Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(m)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(m)si*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindi *mā(m)chī*, etc. (see § 481). Skt. *kṣētra* 'field,' Prāk. *chetta*, Pāli *khetta*, Kāśm. *khit*. Skt. *kṣatriya* 'warrior,' Prāk. *khattia*, Pāli *khattiya*, Uṛ. *chetri*, Bihārī, Hindi, Panj. *chatrī*, *khatrī*, *khetrī*, Sindhi *khitrī*, Mar. *kṣatrī*.

$kṣ > j, (j)jh$.

§ 486. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $j, (j)jh$, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīṇa* 'wasted,' Prāk. *jhīna*, *khīna*, *chīna*, Pāli *khīna*, *khinna*, Ass. *jīn* 'decay,' Hindi *jhīn*, *cchīn*, Sindhi *jhīnō*, Gyp. *khinō*. Skt. *kṣīyate* 'wastes away,' Prāk. *jhijjat*, Mar. *jhiḍ*. Skt. *kṣāmā* 'earth,' Hindi *jhāmā* 'vitrified brick.'

$kṣ > s(s)$.

§ 487. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $s(s)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchu*, Uṛ. *ākhū*, Bang. *aku*, E. Hindi *ūkh*, W. Hindi *ikh*, Mar. *ūs*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Mar. *ris*, etc. (see § 485). Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(m)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(m)si*), etc. (see § 481). Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Sinh. *pasa*, *pak*, etc. (see § 481).

Skt. *kṣaṇa* 'instant,' Prāk. *khana*, *chana* 'feast,' New Ind. dialects *khaṇ*, excepting Hindi *khan*, *chan*, *chin*, Sinh. *sāṇa*, *san(d)a*, inscriptions *sāṇḍa*.

kṣ > *ś(ṣ)*.

§ 488. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *ś(ṣ)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian languages.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Pāz., New Pers. *šāh*. Av. *xštra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *štr*, Minj. *xštr*, Dig. Oss. *axšir*, Tag. *axsir*. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiyn. *šab*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, etc. (see § 481).

kṣ > *h(h)*.

§ 489. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *h(h)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaikṣa* 'novice,' Jaina Prāk. *sēha*, Pāli *sekha*, *sēkha*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' E. Bang. *pāhi*, Bihārī *pāhim* 'beside,' *paṁchi* 'bird,' *paṁkh* 'wing,' etc. (see § 481). Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dāhiṇa*, *dakkhiṇa*, Uṛ. *dahinā*, *dāhāna*, Hindi *dahinā*, *dakhin*, etc. (see § 481).

kṣ > *ś(ṣ)*.

§ 490. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *ś(ṣ)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Kaf. *su*, etc. (see § 480).

Aphaeresis of kṣ.

§ 491. The loss of initial *kṣ* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣāra* 'potash,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, excepting Sindhi *chāru*, Sinh. *ālu*, *halu*, Maladive *hulu*.

kṣn > *ṇ*, *n*.

§ 492. The assimilation of *kṣn* to *ṇ*, *n*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šiyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afy. *rūn*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnaī*, *rūna(h)i*.

kʂn > ʂn.

§ 493. The assimilation of *kʂn* to *ʂn* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxʂna* 'shining,' Šiyn. *rōʂnaga*, Sangl. *rōʂnai*, etc. (see preceding §).

kʂn > hn.

§ 494. The assimilation of *kʂn* to *hn* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxʂna* 'shining,' Kurd. *ruhñai*, *rūñ(h)i*, *rōñ*, *rūñ*, etc. (see § 492).

gdh > t(t).

§ 495. The assimilation of *gdh* to *t(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prāk., Pali *duddha*, Nāip. *dūt*, Kāśm. *dod*, Ur. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindi *dūdh*, Panj. *dudd*, Sindhi *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, Gyp. *thud*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dogdhum* 'to milk,' Phl. *dōxtanō*, New Pers. *dōxtan*, Wāxi *dōgnam*, Sarq. *dausam*, Afy. *wašal*, Bal. *dōšay*, Kurd. *dōtin*, Bayazid *dōthin*, Dig. Oss. *dočun*, Tag. *dučin*.

gdh > d(d).

§ 496. The assimilation of *gdh* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Kāśm. *dod*, Bang. *dud(u)*, *dudh*, Panj. *dudd*, Gyp. *thud*, etc. (see preceding §).

gdh > dāh.

§ 497. The assimilation of *gdh* to *dāh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prāk., Pali *duddha*, Ur. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindi *dūdh*, Sindhi *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, etc. (see § 495). Skt. *mugdha* 'fool,' Prāk., Pali *muddha*.

gn > g(g), γ.

§ 498. The assimilation of *gn* to *g(g)*, *γ*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, *aggiṇi*, *giṇi*, Uṛ. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindi *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhi *āgi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Sinh. *giṇi*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Prāk., Pali *nagga*, Uṛ. *naṁgalā*, Bang. *nēmṭā*, Bihārī *naṁg*, Hindi, Panj. *naṁgā*, Sindhi *naṁgō*, Guj. *nāguṁ*, Mar. *naggā*, *naṁgā*, Gyp. *naṁgō* (cf. also Kāśm. *naṁrāv* 'to strip'). Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pali *lagga*, Hindi *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxi *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*.

gn > *n(n)*.

§ 499. The assimilation of *gn* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Sarq. *raun*, Kurd. *rūn*, etc. (see preceding §).

Syncope and apocope of gn.

§ 500. The loss of internal or final *gn* occurs with the utmost rarity.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Kāš. *rō*, *ruyan*, etc. (see § 498).

gm > *m(m)*.

§ 501. The assimilation of *gm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yugma* 'pair,' Prāk. *jumma*, *jugga*. Skt. *tigma* 'sharp,' Prāk. *timma*, *tigga*.

b. Iranian. GAv. *agemaṭ* 'assembled,' YAv. *frāyemaṭ*, Old Pers. *hagmatā*, Phl. *maṭanō*, New Pers. *amudan*.

gy > *g(g)*.

§ 502. The assimilation of *gy* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yōgya* 'suitable,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pali *yogga*,

New Ind. dialects *jōg*. Skt. *lagyati* (Nirukta, iv. 10) 'is attached,' Prāk. *laggaṭ*, Pāli *laggaṭi*, Kāśm. $\sqrt{\text{lāg}}$, Hindi *lag*, Panj. *lagg*, Sindhi *lāg*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

gr > g(g).

§ 503. The assimilation of *gr* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agra* 'front,' Prāk. Pāli *agga*, Ass. *āgē*, Nāip. *aghi*, Uṛ. *āgu*, Bang., E. Hindi, Hindi *agē*, Panj. *aggā*, Sindhi *aggō*, Gyp. *agor*, *angle*. Skt. *vyagra* 'crooked,' Prāk. *vagga*.

ghr > (g)gh.

§ 504. The assimilation of *ghr* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śighra* 'swift,' Prāk. *siggha*, Pāli *siḡha*, Bang. (Burdwān) *šiggir*, Gyp. *sigō*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindi *baḡh*, Sindhi *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*.

ghr > r(r).

§ 505. The assimilation of *ghr* to *r(r)* is sometimes found.

b. Iranian. Av. *tiyri* 'arrow,' Old Pera. *tiyra*, Phl., New Pers., Bal. *tīr*, N. Bal. *thīr*, Kurd. *tīr(ik)*.

ṛk > ṛg.

§ 506. The softening of *ṛk* to *ṛg* occurs not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paryāṇka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallamka*, Śaur. Prāk. *paliṃka*, Pāli *pallāṇka*, *pariyāṇka*, Ass. *paleṛg*, Nāip. *palareḡ*, Uṛ. *palamk*, Bang. *pālāmḡ*, *pālāmḡ*, Bihārī *palāmḡ*, *pālaki*, Hindi *palāmḡ*, Panj. *palāmḡh*, Sindhi *palāṇḡu*, Guj., Mar. *palāmḡ*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *kamkāṇa* 'bracelet,' Prāk., Pāli *kaṃkāṇa*, Ass. *kaṛḡan*, *kāṛkan*, Kāśm. *kaṛkāin*, *kaṛḡum*, Uṛ., Bang. *kāmḡan*, E. Hindi *kāmḡan*, *kaṃkan*, *kāmkan*, Hindi *kāmḡan*, *kaṃkan*, Panj. *kāmḡan*, Sindhi *kaṛḡaṇu*, Guj., Mar. *kaṛḡaṇ*.

ṛkt > nt.

§ 507. The assimilation of *ṛkt* to *nt* occurs occasionally (cf. § 464).

a. Indian. Skt. *paṇkti* 'row,' Prāk., Pali *paṇti*, Bihārī *pānti*.

ṛkh > k(h).

§ 508. The assimilation of *ṛkh* to *k(h)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṅkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikrī*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindi *si(m)kar*, *sik(h)ar*, Hindi *sikar*, *sikal*, *sikhar*, Panj. *saṅghar*, Sindhi *saṅgharō*, Guj. *sāṅghal*, Mar. *sā(m)khal*, *sikrī*.

ṛkh > ṛgh, ṁgh.

§ 509. The softening of *ṛkh* to *ṛgh*, *ṁgh*, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Panj. *saṅghar*, Sindhi *saṅgharō*, Guj. *saṅghal*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṛg > g(g).

§ 510. The assimilation of *ṛg* to *g(g)* occurs but rarely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṛgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *laṁgala*, *ṇaṁgala*, Pāli *naṁgala*, Bang. *nāṁgal*, Bihārī *laṁgal*, Mar. *nāṁgar*, Sinh. *nagula*, *nagala*. Skt. *lāṛgūla* 'tail,' Prāk. *laṁgūla*, Sinh. *nagal*, *nakuṭa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'toe,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Siv. *gus*, Kāš. *unguss*, *anguš(t)*, Māz. *angus*, Wāxi *yangl*, Šiyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Tag. Oss. *angursth*.

ṛg > ṛgh.

§ 511. The aspirization of *ṛg* to *ṛgh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṛgala* 'desert,' Ass. *jaṛghal*, Sindhi *jhaṛgu* < **jaṛghu*, other New Ind. dialects *jaṁgal*, Old Hindi also *jaṁgar*, Anglo-Ind. *jungle*.

cch > ś(*h*).

§ 512. The dissimilation of *cch* to ś(*h*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gaccha* 'go!' Māg. Prāk. *gaśca*. Skt. *prcchati* 'asks,' Māg. Prāk. *puścadi*. Skt. *ucchiṣṭa* 'remnant,' Śāk. Prāk. *uśchitṭa*, Pāli *ucchitṭha*.

cy > c(*c*).

§ 513. The assimilation of *cy* to c(*c*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *acyuta* 'firm,' Prāk. *accuda*, Pāli *accuta*. Skt. *cyavate* 'goes,' Prāk. *cavaṭ*, Pāli *cavati*, Uṛ. *cuibā*, Bang. *cuān*, Hindi *cūnā*, Panj. *cōnā*, Sindhi *cuhānu*, Mar. *cāvanēm*. Skt. *ucyate* 'is said,' Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Śāur. Prāk. *vuccaṭ*, Pāli *vuccati*.

cv > c(*c*), č(*č*).

§ 514. The assimilation of *cv* to c(*c*), č(*č*), is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *cvant* 'how many?' Phl., New Pers. *cand*, Wāxi *čum*, *čun*, Sarq. *čund*, Afy. *čom(b)ra*, Bal. *cunt*.

jñ > g(*g*).

§ 515. The assimilation of *jñ* to g(*g*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yajña* 'sacrifice,' Prāk. *jañña*, Śāur. Prāk. *jañja*, Pāli *yañña*, Uṛ., Bang. *jāga*, Old Hindi *jajana*, *jaja*, *jagga*, *jagya*, Hindi *jāg*, Panj. *jagg*, Sindhi *jaḡu*, Mar. *jāg*.

jñ > gy.

§ 516. The New Indian dialects, with the exception of Sindhi, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, regularly pronounce *jñ* as *gy*, although Uṛīya and Bangālī retain *jñ* in script. In Gujarātī *jñ* is pronounced *jñ* or *dn*, and in Marāṭhī *jñ* is pronounced *any*. Sindhi usually assimilates *jñ* to *jj*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāna*, *nāna*, Pāli. Prāk. *ñāna*, Pāli *jāna*, Uṛ., Bang. *jñāna* (pron. *gñānō*), Hindi,

Panj. *gyān*, Sindhi *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jāṇ*. Skt. *ājñā* 'command,' Prāk. *anā*, Pali *aññā*, Hindi *āgyā*, Panj. *agiā*, Sindhi *agyā*, Guj. *āgnyā*.

jñ > j(j).

§ 517. The assimilation of *jñ* to *j(j)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāṇa*, *nāṇa*, Pali *jāṇa*, Sindhi *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jāṇ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Prāk. *savvajja*, *savvañṇu*, Śaur. Prāk. *savvañja*, Māhār. Prāk. *savvanu*, Pāś. Prāk. *savvañña*.

jñ > ñ(ñ).

§ 518. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ñ(ñ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Pāś. Prāk. *savvañña*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viñṇāna*, Pali *viññāna*.

jñ > ṇ(ṇ).

§ 519. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ṇ(ṇ)* is found quite frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viñṇāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *rājñī* 'queen,' Nāip., Hindi *rānī*, other New Ind. dialects *rāṇī*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Siṃh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

jñ > n(n).

§ 520. The assimilation of *jñ* to *n(n)* occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Māhār. Prāk. *savvanu*, etc. (see § 517). Skt. *jñāti* 'kinsman,' Pali *ñāti*, Siṃh. *nā*.

jy > j(j).

§ 521. The assimilation of *jy* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājya* 'kingdom,' Pali *rajja*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtānō* 'to gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvidan*, Gab.

jovādmān, Afy. *kōvul*, *kōyal*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāy*, Kurd. *jūn* (cf. Old Bulg. *kivati*, Old High Germ. *kiuwan*).

jy > (j)*jh*.

§ 522. The assimilation of *jy* to (j)*jh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adhijya* 'having the bow-string taut,' Pāli *adejjha*, but Skt. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāli *j(i)ya*.

jy > *s(s)*, *k(k)*.

§ 523. The assimilation of *jy* to *s(s)*, or *k(k)*, is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtanō* 'to gnaw,' Afy. *kōvul*, *kōyal*, etc. (see § 521). Av. *jya* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jik*, New Pers. *sik*, Kāš. *sah*, *śa*, Afy. *śai*, N. Bal. *jīy*, Kurd. *śih*.

jv > j(j).

§ 524. The assimilation of *jv* to j(j) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Prāk. Pāli *jāla*, Ur. *jvalibā*, Hindi *bālānā*, Panj. *jalaṇā*, *bālāṇā*, Sindhi *jalaṇu*, *bāraṇu*, Guj. *jālāvum*, Mar. *jalaṇēm*, Sinh. *dala*.

jv > (j)*jh*.

§ 525. The assimilation of *jv* to (j)*jh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvalati* 'flames,' Apab. Prāk. *jalat*, Pāli *jalati*, Ur. *jhalakanā*, Sindhi *jhalakaṇu*, Guj. *jhalakavum*, Mar. *jhalakaṇēm*.

jv > d(d).

§ 526. The assimilation of *jv* to d(d) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Sinh. *dala*, etc. (see §§ 524, 182).

jv > b(b).

§ 527. The assimilation of *jv* to b(b) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Hindi *bālānā*, Panj. *bālāṇā*, *jalaṇā*, Sindhi *bāraṇu*, *jalaṇu*, etc. (see § 524). Skt. *jvara* 'fever,' Prāk. Pāli *jara*, Sindhi *bar*.

ñc > ŋg.

§ 528. The assimilation of *ñc* to *ŋg* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tancišta* 'most narrow,' Phl. New Pers. *tang*, Wāxi *tang*, Sarq. *tong*, Afy. *tangayī*, Bal. *tank*, N. Bal. *thanax*, *thanakh*, Kurd. *tank*.

ñc > d(c).

§ 529. The assimilation of *ñc* to *d(c)* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *paññāsa*, Pali *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, Kāsm. *pañcāh*, Ur. *pacāśa*, Bang. *pañcāsa*, Bihārī, Hindi *pacās*, Panj., Sindhi *pañjāh*, Guj. *pacās*, Mar. *paññās*, Sinh. *panaha*.

ñc > j(j).

§ 530. The assimilation of *ñc* to *j(j)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pali *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kumjī*, Kāsm. *kuñs*, Ur. *kuji*, *kumci*, *kumjhi*, Bang. *kūjī*, *kūmjī*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *kumjī*, Guj. *kumci*, Mar. *kumjī*.

ñc > ñj.

§ 531. The softening of *ñc* to *ñj* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kumjī*, Bang. *kū(ñ)jī*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi, Mar. *kumjī*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *pañj*, Kāś. *hanc*, Wāxi *pāns*, Šiyn., Sarq. *pins*, Sangl. *pans*, Minj. *panc*, Afy. *pinja*, Oss. *fonj*, *fonj*, Kurd. *pañj*, *pēnj*.

ñc > ñ(ñ).

§ 532. The assimilation of *ñc* to *ñ(ñ)* occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Pali *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

ñc > ɳ(ɳ).

§ 533. The assimilation of *ñc* to *ɳ(ɳ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *paññāsa*, Pali *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

$\acute{n}c > n(n)$.

§ 534. The assimilation of $\acute{n}c$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Mar. *pañnās*, Sinh. *panaha*, etc. (see § 529).

$\acute{n}c > s(s)$.

§ 535. The assimilation of $\acute{n}c$ to $s(s)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 165).

a. Indian. Skt. *kāñcana* 'gold,' Prāk. *kañcana*, Pāli *kañcana*, Sinh. *kasun*. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Prāk., Pāli *pañca*, Kāśm. *pañč*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindi *pāñc*, Panj., Sindhi *pāñj*, Guj., Mar. *pāñc*, Sinh. *pasa*, *paha*, Gyp. *panc*.

$\acute{n}c > h(h)$.

§ 536. The assimilation of $\acute{n}c$ to $h(h)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Sinh. *paha*, *pasa*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. § 169).

$\acute{n}j > m̐d$.

§ 537. The assimilation of $\acute{n}j$ to $m̐d$ is excessively rare, excepting in Sinhalese (see § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *añjana* 'collyrium,' Prāk. *añjana*, Pāli *añjana*, Sinh. *añduna*.

$\acute{d}g > g(g)$.

§ 538. The assimilation of $\acute{d}g$ to $g(g)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, Uṛ. *khamḍa*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindi *kharag*, *khamḍ*, Sindhi *khanō*, Guj. *khārūm*, Mar. *khāṁd*.

$\acute{d}g > ḍ(ḍ)$.

§ 539. The assimilation of $\acute{d}g$ to $ḍ(ḍ)$ is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Uṛ. *khamḍa*, Hindi *khamḍ*, *kharag*, Guj. *khārūm*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\acute{d}g > n(n)$.

§ 540. The assimilation of $\acute{d}g$ to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Sindhi *khanō*, etc. (see § 538).

$nt > t(f)$.

§ 541. The assimilation of nt to $t(f)$ is found occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Prāk. *kaṇṭaa*, Pāli *kaṇṭ(h)aka*, Ass. *kāmṭi*, Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Kāśm. *konḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Uṛ. *kaṇṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Bang. *kaṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Hindi *kāmṭā*, Panj., Sindhi *kamḍā*, Guj. *kamṭō*, Mar. *kaṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Gyp. *kanrō*, *kandō*.

$nt > d(d)$.

§ 542. The assimilation of nt to $d(d)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Panj., Sindhi *kamḍā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nt > nd$.

§ 543. The softening of nt to nd occurs quite rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Kāśm. *konḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Gyp. *kandō*, *kanrō*, etc. (see § 541).

$nth' > nt$.

§ 544. The deaspirization of nth is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Kāśm. *śoṇṭ*, Uṛ., Bang. *śuṇṭha*, Hindi *sōmṭh*, Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhi *suṇḍhi*, Guj. *suṇṭh*.

$nth > ndh$.

§ 545. The softening of nth to ndh is the most usual change of all those to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhi *suṇḍhi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nd > d(d)$.

§ 546. The assimilation of nd to $d(d)$ is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Kāśm. *khaḍak*, Uṛ. *khaṇḍā*, E. Hindi, Hindi *khāmṛ*, Panj. *khāmḍā*, Sindhi *khanō*, Guj. *khāḍum*, Mar. *khaṇḍā*, *khāmḍā*. Skt. *duṇḍubha* 'sort of lizard,' Pāli *dedḍubha*.

$\eta\check{d} > n\check{d}$.

§ 547. The decerebralization of $\eta\check{d}$ is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Ass. Naip. *rāmri*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindi, Hindi *rām̐r*, Panj. *rand*, Sindhi *ran*, Guj., Mar. *rāmḍ*.

$\eta\check{d} > n(n)$.

§ 548. The assimilation of $\eta\check{d}$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Sindhi *khanō*, etc. (see § 546). Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Sindhi *ran*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Pāli *gaṇḍaka* 'rhinoceros,' Bihārī *gannā*, *gandā*, *gāṇḍā*.

$\eta\check{d}h > \check{d}(\check{d})$.

§ 549. The assimilation of $\eta\check{d}h$ to $\check{d}(\check{d})$ is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prak. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̐r*, Bang. *ṣām̐r*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sām̐r*, Panj. *sāmḍh*, Sindhi *sānu*, Multānī *sām̐h*, *saṇḍha*, Guj., Mar. *sāmḍ*.

$\eta\check{d}h > n(n)$.

§ 550. The assimilation of $\eta\check{d}h$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Sindhi *sānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\eta\check{d}h > m̐r$.

§ 551. The assimilation of $\eta\check{d}h$ to *m̐r* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Ass. *sām̐r*, etc. (see § 549).

$\eta\check{d}h > m̐h$.

§ 552. The assimilation of $\eta\check{d}h$ to *m̐h* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Multānī *sām̐h*, *saṇḍha*, etc. (see § 549).

$\eta y > \check{n}j$.

§ 553. The assimilation of ηy to $\check{n}j$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brahmaṇya* 'Brahmanical,' Śāur. Prak. *vamhaṇja*.

ny > *ñ(ñ)*.

§ 554. The assimilation of *ny* to *ñ(ñ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punya* 'pure,' Prāk. *pum̐a*, Pāli *puñña*, *pun̐a*, Sindhi *puñi*. Skt. *aranya* 'desert,' Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Pāli *arañña*, Hindi *ran*, Sindhi *rañ*, *rinu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*.

ny > *n(n)*.

§ 555. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punya* 'pure,' Prāk. *pun̐a*, Pāli *pun̐a*, *puñña*, etc. (see preceding §).

ny > *n(n)*.

§ 556. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *aranya* 'desert,' Hindi *ran*, Sindhi *rinu*, *rañ*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, etc. (see § 554). Skt. *hiranya* 'gold,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khāsi and Kapur di Giri) *hilaṇna*, Pāli *hirañña*.

nv > *n(n)*.

§ 557. The assimilation of *nv* to *n(n)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇva* nom. prop., Prāk. *kaṇṇa*. Skt. *kinva* 'yeast,' Pāli *kin̐a*, Sindhi *kinu*.

nv > *n(n)*.

§ 558. The assimilation of *nv* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kinva* 'yeast,' Sindhi *kinu*, etc. (see preceding §).

tt > *ṭ(ṭ)*.

§ 559. The cerebralization of *tt* to *ṭ(ṭ)* is in the great majority of cases due to the presence of a preceding *r*, *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥tta* 'happened,' Prāk. *vaṭṭa*, Pāli *vaṭṭa*, *vatta*. Skt. *mṛttikā* 'clay,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Uṛ., Bang. *māṭi*, Hindi, Panj. *miṭṭi*, *maṭṭi*, Sindhi *miṭi*, Guj. *māṭi*, Mar. *māṭi*. Skt. *pattana* 'town,' Prāk. *paṭṭana*, Pāli *paṭṭana*.

tp > p(p).

§ 560. The assimilation of *tp* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utpadyantē* 'they arise,' Prāk. *uppajjanti*, Pāli *uppajjanti*, cf. Sindhi *upanō*, Guj. *upan(y)ā*.

tm > t(t).

§ 561. The assimilation of *tm* to *t(t)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Pāli *attā*, *ātumā*, Ass. *āpu*, Nāip. *āphu*, Kaśm. *pāṇ*, Uṛ., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindi, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhi *pāṇ*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(an)*.

tm > pt.

§ 562. The assimilation of *tm* to *pt* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, lit. Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. Fischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 277).

tm > p(p).

§ 563. The assimilation of *tm* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *appā*, *attā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Ass. *āpu*, Kaśm. *pāṇ*, Uṛ., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindi, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhi *pāṇ*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(an)*, etc. (see § 561).

ty > c(c).

§ 564. The assimilation of *ty* to *c(c)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ass. *sāmcā*, (pron. *homsā*), Uṛ. *sacā*, Bang. *sāmcā*, *sacā*, E. Hindi *sāmc*, Hindi *sāmc*, *sa(m)c*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhi *sacū*, Guj., Mar. *sācum*, Sinh. *sasa*, Gyp. *cacō*. Skt. *hatyā* 'murder,' Sindhi *hacā*.

ty > *t(ṭ)*.

§ 565. The assimilation of *ty* to *t(ṭ)*, while less frequent than the assimilation of *ty* to *c(c)*, is, nevertheless, not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Prak., Pāli *nicca*, Bihārī *niṭ(ṭ)*, Sindhī *nitū*, Sinh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prak., Pāli *amacca*, Sinh. *ameta*, *ametiya*. Skt. *atyunnata* 'very high,' Jaina Prak. *accunaya*.

ty > *s(s)*.

§ 566. The assimilation of *ty* to *s(s)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Sinh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *satya* 'true,' Sinh. *sasa*, etc. (see § 564).

tr > *ṣ(ṣ)*.

§ 567. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṣ(ṣ)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ'a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Šiyn. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yāyn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*, Kurd. *pisir*.

tr > *t(ṭ)*.

§ 568. The assimilation of *tr* to *t(ṭ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prak. *putta*, Śaur. Prak. *puḍ(ḍ)a*, Pāli *putta*, Uṛ. *pua*, Hindī *put*, Sindhī *puṭru*, Lār. *puṭṭu*, Mar. *puti*, Sinh. *pit*, *put*.

tr > *ṭr*.

§ 569. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṭr* occurs only in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *triṇi* 'three,' Prak. *tiṇṇi*, Pāli *tiṇi*, Kāsm. *trih*, Uṛ. *tini*, Bang. *tina*, Bihārī *tini*, Hindī *tīn*, Panj. *tiṁn*, Sindhī *ṭrē*, Guj. *tan*, Mar. *tīn*, Gyp. *trin*. Skt. *sūtra* 'thread,' Prak., Pāli *sutta*, New Ind. dialects *sūt*, excepting Sindhī *suṭru*, Lār. *suffu*, Sinh. *suta*.



tr > (ʃ)ʃh.

§ 570. The assimilation of *tr* to (ʃ)ʃh is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathamaputra* 'first-born son,' E. Hindi, Hindi *pahilamīhā*, Panj. *pahilōṭhā*, Sindhi *pahrōṭhō*, *pahrāṭu*.

tr > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 571. The assimilation of *tr* to ḍ(ḍ) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Śaur. Prak. *puḍ(ḍ)a*, etc. (see § 568).

tr > t(t).

§ 572. The assimilation of *tr* to t(t) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prak. *ratti*, *rāt*, Pali *ratti*, Kāsm., Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindi *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhi *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Sinh. *rāya*, *rā*, Gyp. *rat*, Span. Gyp. (a)raci. Skt. *kṣetra* 'field,' Prak. *chetta*, Pali *khetta*, Uṛ., Bang. *khetā*, Hindi *khet*, *kheḍā*, Panj. *khet*, Sindhi *kheṭu*, Guj. *kheḍ*, Mar. *śet*, Sinh. *keta*. Skt. *trimaṇḍala* 'Buddhist's robe,' Pali *tiṃaṇḍala*, Old Sinh. *dunumaṇḍul*, New Sinh. *tunmaḍulla*. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prak., Pali *putta*, Hindi *put*, Mar. *putt*, Sinh. *pit*, *put*, etc. (see § 568).

tr > dr.

§ 573. The assimilation of *tr* to dr is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ōri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt. *se*, Waxī *trui*, Šiyn. *arrai*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yayn. *θaraš*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*.

tr > phr, fr.

§ 574. The assimilation of *tr* to phr, fr, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θraetaona* nom. prop., Phl. *frētūn*, Pāz. *frēdūn*, New Pers. *farēdūn*.

tr > r(r).

§ 575. The assimilation of *tr* to r(r) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pus(ar)*, Gab.

pūr, Kāś. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Minj. *pār*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' Phl. *ciθrē*, New Pers. *cihr*, Afy. *čēr*, Kurd. *cāra*.

tr > *l(l)*.

§ 576. The assimilation of *tr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Yāyn. *pulak*, etc. (see § 567). Old Pers. *Μιθραδάρης*, *Μιθριδάρης*, nom. prop., Phl. *miθrdāt*, New Pers. *mīlād*.

tr > *s(s)*.

§ 577. The assimilation of *tr* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Kurd. *pisir*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Kurd. *sē*, etc. (see § 573). Av. *pāθra* 'protection,' Phl. *pās*, New Pers. *pās*.

tr > *š(š)*.

§ 578. The assimilation of *tr* to *š(š)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Minj. *šarai*, etc. (see § 573).

tr > *hr*.

§ 579. The assimilation of *tr* to *hr* is common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *puhr*, *pus(ar)*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' New Pers. *cihr*, etc. (see § 575). Av. *θri* 'three,' Sarq. *haroi*, etc. (see § 573).

Syncope of tr.

§ 580. The loss of the consonant-group *tr* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prāk. *rāī*, *ratti*, Sinh. *rā*, *rāya*, etc. (see § 572). Skt. *mitra* 'friend,' Prāk. *mia*, *mitta*, Pāli *mitta*, Sindhi *miō*.

tv > *t(t)*.

§ 581. The assimilation of *tv* to *t(t)* is the regular one undergone by this consonant-group in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tvarita* 'quick,' Prāk. *turita*, Pāli *turita*, Hindi, Panj. *turamt*, Sindhi *turtu*, Guj. *turat*, Mar. *turāt*. Skt. *catoāraḥ* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāra*, *catūra*, Pāli *catu*, Kasm. *čōr*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī *cāri*, Hindi, Panj. *cār*, Sindhi *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*, Old Sinh. *siv(u)*, New Sinh. *hatara*, *satara*, *hār*, Gyp. *štar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* < **twm* 'thou,' Pāz. *tō*, New Pers. *tū*, Afy. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*.

tv > *d(d)*.

§ 582. The assimilation of *tv* to *d(d)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* 'thou,' Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*, etc. (see preceding §).

tv > *p(p)*.

§ 583. The assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, especially in the case of the Old Indian suffix *-tva*, which generally becomes *-pan*, *-paṇu*, *-puṇā*, etc., in the New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects an assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ddhatva* 'old age,' Bang. *buḍhāpaṇā*, *buḍhāpā*, Hindi *buḍhāpan*, Panj. *buḍhāpā*, Sindhi *buḍhāpaṇu*, Guj. *buḍhāpō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *catwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxi *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yidg. *cār*, Yayn. *tfo*, Afy. *calor*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*.

tv > *ph, f*.

§ 584. The assimilation of *tv* to *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *catwārō* 'four,' Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yayn. *tfo*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*, etc. (see preceding §).

tv > *b(b)*.

§ 585. The assimilation of *tv* to *b(b)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, etc. (see § 583).

tv > *l(l)*.

§ 586. The assimilation of *tv* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Afy. *calor*, etc. (see § 583).

tv > *v(v)*.

§ 587. The assimilation of *tv* to *v(v)* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvārah* 'four,' Old Sinh. *siv(u)*, etc. (see § 581).

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, etc. (see § 583).

tv > *sp*.

§ 588. The assimilation of *tv* to *sp* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θwāša* 'firmament,' Phl. *spāsar*.

tv > *h(h)*.

§ 589. The assimilation of *tv* to *h(h)* is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, etc. (see § 583). Av. *frapiθwa* 'flourishing,' Phl. *frapīh*, *farpīh*, New Pers. *farbiḥ*.

Syncope of tv.

§ 590. The loss of the consonant-group *tv* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Yidg. *cīr*, etc. (see § 583).

ts > *c(c)*.

§ 591. The assimilation of *ts* to *c(c)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bībhatsa* 'loathsome,' Pali *bībhacca*. Skt.

vatsa 'calf,' Prāk., Pali *vaccha*, Ass. *bācru* (pron. *bāsu*), Kāśm. *vač*, Bang. *bacchā*, *vacchā*, E. Hindi *bāchā*, W. Hindi *bacā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhi *bačō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacchē*, *vāsrāh*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Phl. *vacak*, *bacak*, Wāxi *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, Bal. *gvac*, Kurd. *vacahā*, Dig. Oss. *vass*.

ts > (c)ch.

§ 592. The assimilation of *ts* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsara* 'year,' Prāk., Pali *vacchara*. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pali *vaccha*, Bang. *vacchā*, *bacchā*, E. Hindi *bāchā*, etc. (see preceding §).

ts > š(š).

§ 593. The assimilation of *ts* to š(š) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Wāxi *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, etc. (see § 591).

ts > s(s).

§ 594. The assimilation of *ts* to s(s) is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utsuka* 'anxious,' Prāk. *ussua*, Māhār. Prāk. *ussuya*, Jaina Prāk. *ussuka*. Skt. *vyutsarga* 'eructation,' Prāk. *viussagga*. Skt. *utsada* 'desire,' Pali *ussada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Dig. Oss. *vass*, etc. (see § 591).

tsy > (c)c.

§ 595. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)c is found frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pāli *maccha*, Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Uṛ., Bang., Hindi *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhi *machu*, Mar. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*, Gyp. *macō*.

tsy > (c)ch.

§ 596. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pali *maccha*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhi *machu*, etc. (see preceding §).

tsy > *s(s)*.

§ 597. The assimilation of *tsy* to *s(s)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Bang. vulgar pron. *māsō*, Mar. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*, etc. (see § 595).

thy > (c)*ch*.

§ 598. The assimilation of *thy* to (c)*ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pathya* 'welfare,' Prāk. *paccha*. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Prāk. *micchā*, Avant. Prāk. *mitthā*, Pali *micchā*, Ass. *mica*, Uṛ. *mich*, Bang., Old Hindi *micchā*, Sindhi *maṭhyam*, Sinh. *misa*.

thy > *s(s)*.

§ 599. The assimilation of *thy* to *s(s)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Sinh. *misa*, etc. (see preceding §).

dg > *g(g)*.

§ 600. The assimilation of *dg* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is extremely rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mudga* 'kidney-bean,' Prāk., Pali *mugga*, Uṛ. *māga*, Bang. *mug*, E. Hindi, Hindi *māng*, Panj. *mugg*, Multānī *mung*, Sindhi *muṇu*, Mar. *māg*. Skt. *mudgara* 'hammer,' Prāk., Pali *muggara*, Uṛ. *mōgara*, Hindi *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhi *muṇirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *madgu* 'cormorant,' New Pers. *māy*.

dgh > *g(g)*.

§ 601. The assimilation of *dgh* to *g(g)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *uggaṭ*, *ugghāḍaṭ*, Pali *ugghāṭeti*, Ur. *uganā*, Sindhi *uḡaṇu*, Guj. *ugavum*, Mar. *ugaviṇēm*.

dgh > (g)gh.

§ 602. The assimilation of *dgh* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *ugghāḍaṭ*, Pali *ugghāṭeti*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *udghōṣa* 'proclamation,' Pali *ugghōsa*.

ddh > (ṭ)ṭh.

§ 603. The assimilation of *ddh* to *(ṭ)ṭh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuddha* 'pure,' Prāk., Pali *suddha*, Hindi *sudh*, Sindhi *suṭhō*.

ddh > (ḍ)ḍh.

§ 604. The cerebralization of *ddh* is caused in the great majority of instances by the presence of *r*, *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śraddhā* 'offering to the dead,' Prāk. *saddhā*, *saddhā*, Pali *saddhā*. Skt. *vṛddhi* 'growth,' Prāk. *vuddhi*, Pali *vuddhi*, *vuddhi*.

dm > m(m).

§ 605. The assimilation of *dm* to *m(m)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nišēm*, *nišēman* 'resting-place' < **nišīdman*.

dm > nm.

§ 606. The assimilation of *dm* to *nm* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhinadmi* 'I split,' Gāthā *bhinanmi*.

dy > j(j).

§ 607. The assimilation of *dy* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pali *vijju*, Ur. *bijulī*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *bijālī*, Sindhi *vijum*, Guj. *vijulī*, Mar. *bijālī*, *vij*. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Prāk., Pali *ajja*, Ass. *āji*, Kaśm.

aj, *as*, Ur., Bang. *āj*, Old Hindi *āju*, E. Hindi, Hindi *āj*, Panj. *āj*, Sindhi *ājū*, Guj., Mar. *āj*, Sinh. *ada*. Skt. *dyuti* 'light,' Prak. *jui*, Pali *juti*.

dy > *d̐(d)*.

§ 608. The assimilation of *dy* to *d̐(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Sinh. *ada*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vaidya* 'physician,' Prak., Pali *vejja*, Sinh. *veda*.

dr > *j(j)*.

§ 609. The assimilation of *dr* to *j(j)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prak., Pali *niddā*, Hindi, Panj. *nīnd*, Sindhi *nim̐d̐*, Mar. *nīj*, *nīd*, Gyp. *lindr*.

dr > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 610. The assimilation of *dr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prak. *khud̐ḍa*, Pali *khudda*, Ur. *khudatā*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Sinh. *cuḍi*, Sinh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pali *daddu*, Hindi *dād*, Sindhi *ḍarhu*, *ḍadh̐u*, Guj. *dadar*, Mar. *dād*, *dādaḍ*.

dr > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 611. The assimilation of *dr* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Sindhi *ḍarhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

dr > *d̐(d)*.

§ 612. The assimilation of *dr* to *d̐(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prak., Pali *niddā*, Hindi, Panj. *nīnd*, Mar. *nīd*, *nīj*, etc. (see § 609). Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Prak., Pali *muddā*. Skt. *drākṣa* 'grape,' Kāsm. *dach*, Hindi, Panj. *dākh*, Sindhi *ḍākh*, Gyp. *drakh*.

dr > *ḷ(ḷ)*.

§ 613. The assimilation of *dr* to *ḷ(ḷ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhadra* 'good,' Prak. *bhadda*, Pali *bhadra*,

bhadda, Ass. *bhāl*, Uṛ. *bhala*, Bang. *bhala*, Hindi, Panj. *bhala*, Sindhi, Guj. *bhalō*, Mar. *bhalā*. Skt. *chidra* 'hole,' Māhar. Prak., Pāli *chidda*, Bihārī *chēd*, Sinh. *kila*.

dr > sr.

§ 614. The assimilation of *dr* to *sr* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšudra* 'seed,' Phl. *susar*, Gab. *šosr*.

dr > hr.

§ 615. The assimilation of *dr* to *hr* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *badra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*.

dv > d(d).

§ 616. The assimilation of *dv* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śādvāla* 'grassy,' Pāli *saddala*. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *dēra*, *duāra*, *dāra*, *bāra*, Pāli *dvāra*, Uṛ. *dara*, Sindhi *dāru*, *dārī*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *dār*, Sinh. *dēra*, *dora*. Skt. *dvi* 'two,' Prāk. *duve*, Pāli *dvi*, Kāśm. *sah*, Uṛ., Bang. *dui*, Hindi, Panj. *dō*, Sindhi *ba*, Guj. *bē*, Mar. *dōn*. Skt. *dvīpa*, 'island,' Prāk. *diva*, Pāli *dvīpa*, Sinh. *diva*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Old Pers. *duvarā*, Phl., New Pers. *dar*, Gab., Kāś. *bar*, Samn. *barī*, Wāxi *bār*, Šiyn. *divē(r)*, Sarq. *divir*, Minj. *labra*, Afy. *var*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *doar*.

dv > b(b).

§ 617. The assimilation of *dv* to *b(b)* is frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *bāra*, *dāra*, *duāra*, *dēra*, Guj. *bār*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *dvādaśan* 'twelve,' Prāk. *bāraha*, Pāli *bārasa*, *dvādasa*, Kāśm. *bāh*, Uṛ. *bāra*, Bang. *bārō*, Bihārī, Hindi *bārah*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhi *bārahām*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Gab., Kaš. *bar*, Samn. *bari*, Waxi *bār*, Kurd. *bar*, etc. (see § 616). Skt. *dvēṣas* 'enmity,' Av. *ḡbaēšah*, Phl. *bēš*.

dv > *v(v)*.

§ 618. The assimilation of *dv* to *v(v)* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvēṣṭati* 'surrounds,' Prak. *uvvellaṭ*. [See now Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 107.]

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Afy. *var*, etc. (see § 616).

dhy > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 619. The assimilation of *dhy* to (*j*)*jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prak., Pali *majjha*, Ass. *māj* (pron. *mās*), Kaśm. *mams*, Uṛ. *mājhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Burh-vāni *madde*, Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindi *maddhe*, Hindi *mājhi*, *māmjh*, *mām̐h*, *mām̐jhōlā*, Panj. *mām̐jh*, *majjh*, Sindhi *man̐jhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Elu *madu*, Sinh. *māda*, inscriptions *māmda*, Gyp. *maškarē*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prak. *u(v)ajjhāa*, *ojjhāa*, Pali *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādhā*, Hindi *ōjhā*, Sindhi *vājhō*. Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Prak. *bujjhaṭ*, Pali *bujjhati*, Kaśm. *bōji* (pron. *bōzi*), Uṛ. *bujhibā*, Bang. *bājhan*, Hindi *bājhanā*, Panj. *bujjhanā*, Sindhi *bujaṇu*, Guj. *bujavun*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Prak., Pali *jhāna*, Hindi *samajjhānā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Phl., New Pers. *jān*.

dhy > *d(d)*.

§ 620. The assimilation of *dhy* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Burh-vāni *maddē*, Elu *madu*, Sinh. *mā(n)da*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vidhyati* 'pierces,' Pali *viijhati*, Sinh. *vidinavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maidya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*,

Waxi *malung*, Šiyn. *mašana*, Sarq. *mēš*, Sangl. *mida*, Afy. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*.

dhy > (d)dh.

§ 621. The assimilation of *dhy* to (d)dh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindi *maddhē*, etc. (see § 619).

b. Iranian. Av. *maidya* 'middle,' Šiyn. *mašana*, Sarq. *mēš*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhy > y(y).

§ 622. The assimilation of *dhy* to y(y) is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maidya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, etc. (see § 620).

dhy > l(l).

§ 623. The assimilation of *dhy* to l(l) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maidya* 'middle,' Waxi *malung*, Afy. *mlā*, etc. (see § 620).

dhy > s(s).

§ 624. The assimilation of *dhy* to s(s) occurs with the utmost rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Ass. *mās* (written *māj*), Kaśm. *maṁs*, etc. (see § 619). Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Kaśm. *bōsi* (written *bōji*), etc. (see § 619).

dhy > h(h).

§ 625. The assimilation of *dhy* to h(h) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Hindi *māmh*, *māmjh(ōlā)*, *māmjh*, *mājhi*, etc. (see § 619).

dhr > (j)jh.

§ 626. The assimilation of *dhr* to (j)jh is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grdhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *giṇṇha*, *gaddha*, *giddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Hindi *gidh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhi *giṇṇhu*, Guj. *gid(h)*, Mar. *gidh*, *gid*, *gidhad*.

dhr > *d(d)*.

§ 627. The assimilation of *dhr* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grāhra* 'vulture,' Guj. *gīd*, *gīdh*, Mar. *gīd*, *gīdh*, *gīdhāḍ*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhr > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 628. The assimilation of *dhr* to (*d*)*dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhruva* 'firm,' Jaina Prāk. *dhruva*. Skt. *grāhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *giddha*, Pali *gaddha*, *giddha*, *gijjha*, Bang. *gīdh*, Hindi *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Guj. *gīdh*, *gīd*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gīdhāḍ*, *gīd*, etc. (see § 626).

dhw > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 629. The assimilation of *dhw* to (*j*)*jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *jhaya*, *dhaya*, Hindi, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, Sirh. *dada*. Skt. *madhvaṇu* 'yam,' Pali *majjhāru*.

dhw > *d(d)*.

§ 630. The assimilation of *dhw* to *d(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Sirh. *dada*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhw > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 631. The assimilation of *dhw* to (*d*)*dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *dhaya*, *jhaya*, Hindi, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, etc. (see § 629). Skt. *adhvan* 'road,' Prāk., Pali *addha*.

nt > *t(t)*.

§ 632. The assimilation of *nt* to *t(t)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *-ant* term. of pres. part. act., Prāk. *-anta*, Apab. Prāk. *-antu*, Śaur. Prāk. *-andō*, Ass. *-ōmtē*, Naip. *-ādā*, Kāsm. *-ān*, Ur. *-ant*, Bang. *-it*, E. Hindi *-at*, Old Hindi *-ant*,

Hindī -*atā*, Panj. -*a(n)dā*, Sindhī -*andō*, Multānī -*andā*, -*endā*,
Guj. -*atō*, Mar. -*atā*, -*at*, -*it*.

nt > (*t*)*th*.

§ 633. The assimilation of *nt* to (*t*)*th* is not of frequent occurrence.

a. Indian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dūndūk*, Šīyn., Sarq. *dandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *danthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Tag. Osa. *dandag*. Av. *brəsant* 'high,' New Pers. *buland*, Dig. Osa. *barsanththa* (plural), Tag. *barsaththa*.

* *nt* > *d(d)*.

§ 634. The assimilation of *nt* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Nāip. -*ādā*, Panj. -*adā*, -*andā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Kurd. *didān*, etc. (see preceding §).

nt > *nd*.

§ 635. The softening of *nt* to *nd* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Śaur. Prāk. -*andō*, Panj. -*andā*, -*adā*, Sindhī -*andō*, Multānī -*andā*, -*endā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dūndūk*, Šīyn., Sarq. *dandān*, Minj. *land*, Tag. Osa. *dandag*, etc. (see § 633). Av. *jvant* 'living,' Phl. *šivandak*, New Pers. *šindah*, Kāš. *janda*, Afy. *švand*.

nt > *n(n)*.

§ 636. The assimilation of *nt* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Kāśm. -*ān*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *gainti* 'stench,' Phl., New Pers. *gand*, Afy. *ganda(l)*, Kurd. *gannak* 'castor-oil plant.'

ntr > *ṇṭr*.

§ 637. The assimilation of *ntr* to *ṇṭr* is confined to the Sindhi (cf. § 569).

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhi *maṇṭru*, *maṇḍru*.

ntr > *ṇḍr*.

§ 638. The assimilation of *ntr* to *ṇḍr* also is confined to the Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhi *maṇḍru*, *maṇṭru*.

ntr > *r(r)*.

§ 639. The assimilation of *ntr* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *təθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāwi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*.

ntr > *l(l)*.

§ 640. The assimilation of *ntr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *təθra* 'dark,' Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *ṭ(ṭ)*.

§ 641. The assimilation of *nth* to *ṭ(ṭ)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prak., Pali *gaṇṭhi*, Sindhi *gaṇḍhi*, *ghuṇḍi*, Mar. *gaṇṭh*, Sinh. *gāṭayā*.

nth > *mṭh*.

§ 642. The cerebralization of *nth* is of very unusual occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prak., Pali *gaṇṭhi*, Mar. *gaṇṭh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Pali *gantha*, Ur. *gaṇṭha*, Bang. *gāṇṭ*, *gāṇṭh*, Hindī *gāṇṭh*, Panj. *gaṇḍh*, *gaṇḍh*, Sindhi *gaṇḍh*, Guj., Mar. *gāṇṭh*, Sinh. *gata*.

nth > *mḍh*.

§ 643. The assimilation of *nth* to *mḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Panj. *gaṇḍh*, *gaṇḍh*, Sindhi *gaṇḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *t(f)*.

§ 644. The assimilation of *nth* to *t(f)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Sinh. *gata*, etc. (see § 642).

nth > *d(d)*.

§ 645. The assimilation of *nth* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pera. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Yidg. *pāduh*, Dig. Oss. *fand*.

nth > *nd*.

§ 646. The assimilation of *nth* to *nd* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pera. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Dig. Oss. *fand*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *ndh*.

§ 647. The softening of *nth* to *ndh* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pantha* 'way,' Prāk. *pantha*, Pāli *pantha*, Kāsm. *pāimth*, *pāmth*, *pānth*, Sinh. *pandhu*.

ndr > *ṇḍr*.

§ 648. The cerebralization of *ndr* to *ṇḍr* is confined to the Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *camda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāmd*, also Kāsm. *čandar*, E. Hindi *cān*, Hindi, Panj. *camd*, Sindhi *camḍu*, *camḍru*, Sinh. *sanda*, *handā*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, Gyp. *con*.

ndr > *nd*.

§ 649. The assimilation of *ndr* to *nd* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *camda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāmd*, also Hindi, Panj. *camd*, Sinh. *sanda*, *handā*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, etc. (see preceding §).

ndr > *n(n)*.

§ 650. The assimilation of *ndr* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' E. Hindi *cān*, Gyp. *con*, etc. (see § 648).

ndh > *t(t)*.

§ 651. The assimilation of *ndh* to *t(t)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Phl. *baṣṭanō*, New Pers. *bandam*, Māz. *van(n)am*, Gil. *davaddam*, Waxi *vandam*, Šiyn., Sarq. *vindam*, Bal. *bandag*, Kurd. *bandim*, Dig. Oss. *battim*, Tag. *baththin*.

ndh > *(t)th*.

§ 652. The assimilation of *ndh* to *(t)th* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Tag. Oss. *baththin*, etc. (see preceding §).

ndh > *d(d)*.

§ 653. The assimilation of *ndh* to *d(d)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Gil. *davaddam*, etc. (see § 651).

ndh > *nā*.

§ 654. The deaspirization of *ndh* is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prak., Pali *khandha*, Ass. *kāmd*, *kāmdh*, Ur., Bang. *kāmdh*, Bihārī *kāmdhā*, *kāmdā*, Hindi *kāmdhā*, Panj. *kanḍhā*, *kannh*, Sindhi *kandhu*, Guj. *khāmdō*, Mar. *khāmdā*, Sinh. *kanda*.

ndh > *n(n)*.

§ 655. The assimilation of *ndh* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Māz. *van(n)am*, etc. (see § 651).

ndh > *(n)nh*.

§ 656. The assimilation of *ndh* to *(n)nh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhi* 'friendship, burglar's mine,' Prak., Pali *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kasm. *san*, Ur., Bang. *simdh*, E. Hindi *sēnhi*, *sēmdh*, Hindi *sēmdh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhi *sēmdhi*, Multāni

sandh. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Panj. *kannh*, *kandhā*, etc. (see § 654). Skt., Pali *andhakāra* 'darkness,' Hindi *amdhērā*, *amdhīyārā*, Panj. *annhērā*.

nāhy > *nj(j)*.

§ 657. The assimilation of *nāhy* to *nj(j)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prak. *sañjhā*, Pali *sañjhā*, Ur. *sāmjh*, Bang. *sāmj*, *sāmjh*, Bihārī, Hindi *sāmjh*, Panj. *sāmjh*, Sindhi *sāmjhī*, *sāmjhā*, Guj. *sāmj*, Mar. *sāmj*, *sāmjh*.

nāhy > *m(j)jh*.

§ 658. The assimilation of *nāhy* to *m(j)jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prak. *sañjhā*, Pali *sañjhā*, Ur. *sāmjh*, Bang. *sāmjh*, *sāmj*, Bihārī, Hindi *sāmjh*, Panj. *sāmjh*, Sindhi *sāmjhā*, *sāmjhī*, Mar. *sāmjh*, *sāmj*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *bandhya* 'barren,' Pali *vañjha*, Ass. *bāmji*, Ur. *bāmjha*, Bang. *bāmjhā*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bāmjh*, Panj. *bañjh*, Guj., Mar. *vāmjh*.

nm > *mm*.

§ 659. The assimilation of *nm* to *mm* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *janman* 'birth,' Prak., Pali *jamma*. Skt. *unmārga* 'underground watercourse,' Māhār. Prak., Pali *um-magga*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saēna mərəya* 'eagle-bird,' Phl. *sēnmurv*, New Pers. *simury*.

ny > *ñj*.

§ 660. The assimilation of *ny* to *ñj* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prak. *kaññakā*, Pāśā. Prak. *kañjā*, *kaññakā*, Pali *kaññā*, Panj. *kaniā*, Sindhi *kañā*.

ny > *ñ(ñ)*.

§ 661. The assimilation of *ny* to *ñ(ñ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pāli Prāk. *kaññakā*, *kañjā*, Pāli *kaññā*, Sindhi *kañā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *añña*, *anna*, Pāli *añña*, Old Hindi *ani*, Sinh. *amk(ak)*, *amkek*.

ny > *n(n)*.

§ 662. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *suñña*, *sunna*, Pāli *suñña*, Ass. *sunā*, Kāśm. *chōñōi*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sun(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Sindhi *suñā*, Guj. *sun*, *sunn*, Mar. *sunā*.

ny > *n(n)*.

§ 663. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manyāmi* 'I think,' Jāina Prāk. *mannāmi* (cf. Skt. *manyē*, Prāk. *mannē*, Pāli *maññē*). Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *sunna*, *sunna*, Ass. *sunā*, Kāśm. *chōñōi*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sun(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Guj. *sun*, *sunn*, Mar. *sunā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *anna*, *añña*, Old Hindi *ani*, etc. (see § 661).

b. Iranian. Av. *nyāka* 'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afy. *nika*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāzō*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, Oss. *inna*.

nv > *n(n)*.

§ 664. The assimilation of *nv* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvേഷाṇa* 'inquiry,' Māhār. Prāk. *annēsāṇa*.

pt > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 665. The assimilation of *pt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptasāṣṭhi* 'sixty-seven,' Prāk. *sattasāṣṭhi*, Kāśm. *satahāṣṭhi*, Ur. *saṭṣaṭhi*, Bang. *sāṭṣaṭhi*, Bihārī *sarasāṭhi*, *sarasāṭhi*, *satasāṭhi*, Hindi *sarsaṭhi*, *satsaṭhi*, Panj. *sataḥaṭ*, Sindhi *sathāṭhi*, Guj. *sadṣeṭhi*, Mar. *satsaṣṭ*.

pt > *tʃ*.

§ 666. The assimilation of *pt* to *tʃ* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prak., Pali *satta*, Kaśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang., Hindi *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhi *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*, Sinh. *sata*, *hata*. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' Prak., Pali *sutta*, Sindhi *sutō*.

b. Iranian. Av. $\sqrt{x^s}ap$ 'to sleep,' Phl. *xʷastanō*, New Pers. *xuftan*, Gab. *xuftmān*, Zaf. *vōft*, Kāš. *xāt*, Vön. *xuft*, Kuhr. *xut*, Nāy. *havōftand*, Māz. *xāt*, Waxi *rūxpam*, Šīyn. *šovsam*, Sarq. *xuvsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsay*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*. Phl. *kaftanō* 'to fall,' Gab. *kaftmūn*, Kāš. *darkatan*, *darkaftan*, Māz. *dakatan*, Gil. *bakaftan*, Bal. *kapag*, Kurd. *katin*.

pt > *d(d)*.

§ 667. The assimilation of *pt* to *d(d)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' New Pers. *xuftah*, Afy. *ūda*. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' New Pers. *taft*, Afy. *tōd*, S. Oss. *thafth*.

pt > *(d)dʰ*.

§ 668. The assimilation of *pt* to *(d)dʰ* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Waxi *hūb*, *(h)ub*, Šīyn. *vūd*, Sarq. *ūd*, Sangl. *hoft*, Minj. *uḥ*, Yidg. *avduh*, Yayn. *av*, Afy. *ova*, *ava*, Oss. *avd*, Dig. also *aft*.

pt > *phʰt*, *ft*.

§ 669. The spirantization of *pt* to *ft* occurs not infrequently in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Sangl. *hoft*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see preceding §).

pt > *phʰth*, *ftʰ*.

§ 670. The double spirantization of *pt* to *phʰth*, *ftʰ*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' S. Oss. *thafth*, etc. (see § 667).

pt > *b(b)*.

§ 671. The assimilation of *pt* to *b(b)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Waxi *hāb*, (*h*)*uḥ*, etc. (see § 668).

pt > *r(r)*.

§ 672. The assimilation of *pt* to *r(r)* is excessively rare (cf. § 230).

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṣṭī* 'sixty-seven,' Bihārī *sarasaṣṭhi*, *sarasaṣṭh*, *satasaṣṭhi*, Hindi *sarsaṣṭh*, *satsaṣṭh*, etc. (see § 665).

pt > *v(v)*.

§ 673. The assimilation of *pt* to *v(v)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Yayn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, etc. (see § 668).

pt > *vd*.

§ 674. The softening of the consonant-group *pt* to *vd* is not very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Šiyn. *vud*, Sarq. *ūd*, Yidg. *avduh*, Oss. *avd*, etc. (see § 668).

pn > *pp*.

§ 675. The assimilation of *pn* to *pp* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *svapna* 'sleep,' Pali *soppa*, *supina*. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Prak. *pāṇat*, *pāvat*, Pali *pappōti*, *pāpunāti*, Ur. *pā*, Bang. *pāḍ*, Old Hindi *pāu*, Hindi *pā(v)*, Panj. *pāu*, Sindhi *pā*, Guj. *pām*, Mar. *pāv*, Sinh. *pāminēnavā*.

pn > *f(f)*.

§ 676. The assimilation of *pn* to *f(f)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *tafnu* 'heat,' New Pers. *taf*.

pn > *m(m)*.

§ 677. The assimilation of *pn* to *m(m)* is very rare (cf. § 291).

a. Indian. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Sinh. *pāminēnavā*, etc. (see § 675).

pny > *m(m)*.

§ 678. The assimilation of *pny* to *m(m)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšafnya* 'supper,' Phl. New Pers. *šām*.

py > *p(p)*.

§ 679. The assimilation of *py* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kupyati* 'is angry,' Prāk. *kuppati*, Pāli *kuppati*, Bihārī *kōpāi*. Skt. *tapyatē* 'is warmed,' Pāli *tappati*.

pr > *p(p)*.

§ 680. The assimilation of *pr* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paḍi*, Pāli *pati*, *paṭi*, New Ind. dialects *paḍ(i)*. Skt. *apriya* 'offensive,' Prāk. *appia*, Pāli *appiya*. Skt. *prasthāpana* 'sending,' Uṛ. *paṭhāṭhā*, Bang. *paṭhan*, Hindī *paṭhānā*, Sindhi *paṭhanu*, Guj. *pāṭharum*, Mar. *pāṭharinēm*.

pr > *r(r)*.

§ 681. The assimilation of *pr* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *fra* 'forward,' Phl. *fra*, *far*, New Pers. *far*, *fir*, Pāmir dialects *ra*, Kurd. *hal*, *hil*. Phl. *frōxtanō* 'to sell,' New Pers. *furōxtan*, Zaf. *baxrōš* 'sell!' Vön. *barāš*, Kuhr. *baxrāš*, Samn. *narāšum*, Māz. *rāš*, *rūt*, N. Bal. *šavaškay*, *šōškay*. Av. *frāš* 'forward,' Phl. *frāc*, Pāz. *frās*, *fraš*, New Pers. *farās*, Osa. *rasai*.

pr > *hl*.

§ 682. The assimilation of *pr* to *hl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *šufar*, *šafar*, New Pers. *šarf*, Judæo-Pers. *šōrf*, Afy. *šavar*, Bal. *juhl*, Kurd. *šōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

pš > š(š).

§ 683. The assimilation of *pš* to *š(š)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *fšarəma* 'shame,' Phl., New Pers. *šarm*, Dig. Oss. *afsarmi*, Tag. *afsarm*. Av. **fšu-pāna* 'shepherd,' Phl. *š(u)pān*, New Pers. *šubān*, Waxi *spūn*, *šūpūn*, Bal. *sipānk*, N. Bal. *šavānkh*, *šafānkh*.

ps > (c)ch.

§ 684. The assimilation of *ps* to *(c)ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *apsarā* 'nymph,' Prāk., Pāli *accharā*, Old Hindi *accharī*, *apchar*, Sindhi *apcharā*. Skt. *jugupsati* 'despises,' Prāk. *du(g)ucchaī*, *du(g)umchaī*, Pāli *jigucchati*.

ps > bs.

§ 685. The softening of *ps* to *bs* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsā* 'wasp,' Old High Germ. *wafsa*, Bal. *gvabz*, *gvams*.

ps > ms.

§ 686. The assimilation of *ps* to *ms* is extremely rare (cf. § 291).

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsā* 'wasp,' Bal. *gvams*, *gvabz*, etc. (see preceding §).

ps > vs.

§ 687. The assimilation of *ps* to *vs* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *afsār* 'headstall,' New Pers. *afsār*, Šiyn., Sarq. *avsār*.

ps > s(s).

§ 688. The assimilation of *ps* to *s(s)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷafsata* 'sleep ye!' Phl. *xʷafsiṭanō*, New Pers. *xuspidan*, Šiyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsa*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*.

pstr > str.

§ 689. The assimilation of *pstr* to *str* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xrafstra* 'noxious beast,' Phl. *xrafstr*, New Pers. (Pārsi) *xarūstar*, archaic *xrafstar*.

fs > ps.

§ 690. The hardening of Iranian *fs* to *ps* occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷafsa* 'sleep ye!' Bal. *vapsag*, etc. (see § 688).

bj > j(j).

§ 691. The assimilation of *bj* to *j(j)* is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prak., Pali *khujja*, Kaśm. *kobb*, Ur. *kājā*, Bang. *ku(m)jā*, *kubja*, Hindi *kubjā*, *kubba*, *kubrā* (rare), Panj. *kubba*, *kaba*, Sindhi *kubō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubaḍā*.

bj > bḍ.

§ 692. The assimilation of *bj* to *bḍ* is very rare (cf. § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Hindi *kubrā* (rare), *kubba*, *kubjā*, etc. (see preceding §).

bj > b(b).

§ 693. The assimilation of *bj* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Kaśm. *kobb*, Hindi *kubba*, *kubjā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubba*, *kūba*, Sindhi *kubō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubaḍā*, etc. (see § 691).

bd > d(d).

§ 694. The assimilation of *bd* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śabda* 'word,' Prak., Pali *sadda*, Old Hindi *sād*.

bdh > (d)dḥ.

§ 695. The assimilation of *bdh* to *(d)dḥ* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *labdha* 'received,' Prak., Pali *laddha*, Sindhi *ladhō*.

br > b(b).

§ 696. The assimilation of *br* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bambhāṇa*, inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pali *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhi *bambhāṇu*, Simh. *bamba*.

bhy > (b)bh.

§ 697. The assimilation of *bhy* to (b)bh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyantara* 'internal,' Prāk., Pali *abbhantara*, Uṛ., Bang. *bhitari*, Bihārī, Hindi *bhitār*, Guj. *bhitār*, Mar. *bhitari*. Skt. *labhyate* 'is taken,' Prāk. *labbhaṭ*, Pali *labbhati*, Old Hindi *labbh*, Sindhi *labh*.

bhr > b(b).

§ 698. The assimilation of *bhr* to b(b) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pali *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindi, Panj. *bhamvar*, *bhāuṃr*, Sindhi *bhāuṃru*, Mar. *bhōṃr*, Simh. *bambarā*.

bhr > (b)bh.

§ 699. The assimilation of *bhr* to (b)bh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhrātar* 'brother,' Prāk. *bhāā*, Pali *bhātā*, New Ind. dialects *bhāi*, also Panj. *bhrāū*, Sindhi *bhāā*, Mar. *bhāā*, Gyp. *phral*. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pali *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindi, Panj. *bhamvar*, *bhāuṃr*, Sindhi *bhāuṃru*, Mar. *bhōṃr*, etc. (see preceding §).

bhr > *vr*.

§ 700. The assimilation of *bhr* to *vr* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *bhaṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barō*, *barāi*, Gil. *brār*, Waxi *vrūt*, Šiyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurđ*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yayn. *virāt*, Afy. *vrōr*,

Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāṣ*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *awra* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *abr*, Gab., Kāš. *av*, Judæo-Pers. *abr*, Afy. *varyaṣ*, Bal. *hav*, Kurd. (*h*)*av*, *hāṣ*, Oss. *av*.

mn > mm.

§ 701. The assimilation of *mn* to *mm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *kamna* 'small,' Phl., New Pers. *kam*.

mp > p(p).

§ 702. The assimilation of *mp* to *p(p)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *parampara* 'reciprocal,' Pali *parampara*, Sinh. *parapura*. Skt. *campaka* 'sort of tree,' Apabh. Prāk. *campayu*, Pali *campaka*, Sinh. *sapu*.

mp > mb.

§ 703. The softening of *mp* to *mb* is quite a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk., Pali *kampati*, Ass. *kamp*, Kāśm. *kaṃ(p)*, Uṛ. *kamp*, Bang. *kāmp*, Hindi *kāmp*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhi *kamb*, Guj., Mar. *kāmp*.

b. Iranian. Av. *hampāfrāiti* (intens.) 'fills,' Phl., New Pers. *ambāstan* (written *anbāstan*).

mb > b(b).

§ 704. The assimilation of *mb* to *b(b)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Prāk., Pali *kambala*, Uṛ. *kaṃala*, Bang. *kambal*, *kaṃli*, E. Hindi *kammar*, Hindi *kammaḷ*, *kambal*, Panj. *kammaḷ*, *kambal*, Sindhi *kaṃari*, Guj. *kabaḷo*, *kamaḷ*, *kamaḷi*, Mar. *kambaḷa*.

mb > m(m).

§ 705. The assimilation of *mb* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *jambuka* 'rose-apple,' Ass. *jāmu*, Bang. *jām*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *jāmun*, Sindhi *jamūn*, Guj. *jāmbu*, Mar. *jāmb*. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Uṛ. *kamaḷa*, E. Hindi *kammar*, Hindi *kammal*, *kāmbal*, Panj. *kammal*, *kāmbal*, Sindhi *kamari*, Guj. *kāmaḷ*, *kamaḷi*, *kābalō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prak. *limba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindi *lim*, *nīm*, Sindhi *limu*, Guj. *limbaḍō*, Mar. *limb*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šikum* 'stomach,' New Pers. *šikum*, Kurd. *šik*. New Pers. *hambās* 'comrade,' Kurd. *hamēs*, *xamīs*.

mbh > *m(m)*.

§ 706. The assimilation of *mbh* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Prak. *kumbhaāra*, *kumbhāra*, Pāli *kumbhakāra*, Ass. *kumār*, Nāip. *kumānhyē*, Uṛ. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, Bang. *kumār*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *kumhār*, Sindhi *kumbaru*, Guj., Mar. *kumbhār*.

mbh > *mh*.

§ 707. The assimilation of *mbh* to *mh* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Uṛ. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *kumhār*, etc. (see preceding §).

mbh > *hm*.

§ 708. The assimilation of *mbh* to *hm* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Uṛ. *kuhmāra*, *kumhāra*, etc. (see § 706).

mr > *mbr* > *m̐b*.

§ 709. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *m̐b* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prak. *tamba*, *tambira*, Pāli *tamba*, Ass. *tām*, Kāśm. *trām*, Uṛ. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhi *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbum*, Mar. *tāmbem*, Sinh. *tāmbara*. Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' Prak., Pāli

amba, U_r, Bang., Hindi *ām*, *āmb*, Panj. *amab*, Sindhi *āmba*,
Larī *āmō*, *āma*, Guj. *āmbō*, Mar. *āmbā*, Sinh. *amba*.

mr > mbr > m(m).

§ 710. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *m(m)* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, U_r. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhi *ṣāmō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' U_r, Bang. *ām*, *āmb*, Larī *āmō*, *āma*, etc. (see preceding §).

mv > m(m).

§ 711. The assimilation of *mv* to *m(m)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamōtrah* 'ever' beside *hamārah*.

nh > ngh.

§ 712. The assimilation of *nh* to *ngh* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Prak. *sīha*, Māhar. Prak. *siṃgha*, *sīha*, Pali *sīha*, Gāthā *siṃha*, Kaśm. *suḥ*, Bihārī, E. Hindi *siṃgh*, *siṃgh*, *siṃh*, Panj. *siṃgh*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh* (pron. and often written *siṃgh*).

rk > k(k).

§ 713. The assimilation of *rk* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arka* 'sun,' Prak., Pali *akka*. Skt. *karkara* 'gravel,' Ass., Nāip. *kāmkar*, Bang. *kāmkar*. Skt. *karkaṣa* 'crab,' Pali *kakkaṣaka*, U_r, Bang. *kāmkarā*, E. Hindi *kēkarā*, *kēkarā*, Hindi *kāmkarā*, Sindhi *kāmkarō*. Skt. *karkaṣikā* 'cucumber,' U_r, Bang. *kā(m)kuḍī*, Hindi, Panj. *ka(k)kaḍī*, Sindhi *kakiḍī*, Guj., Mar. *kākaḍī*. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pali *sakkara*, *sakkhara*, New Ind. dialects *sakkar*, except Mar. *sākhar*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *sirkah* 'vinegar' beside *sitah*.

$rk > (k)kh$.

§ 714. The assimilation of rk to $(k)kh$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkhara*, *sakkara*, Mar. *sākhar*, etc. (see preceding §).

• $rk > t(t)$.

§ 715. The change of rk to $t(t)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 119 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura* 'dog' besides *kukkura*, Pāli *kukkura*, Bang. *kuttā*, *kukkur*, Bihārī *kutta*, *kuk(k)ar*, Hindī *kuttā*, *kukkā*, Sindhī *kutō*, Guj. *kutrō*, Mar. *kutrā*.

$rk > tr$.

§ 716. The change of rk to tr is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura*, *kukkura* 'dog,' Guj. *kutrō*, Mar. *kutrā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rg > g(g)$.

§ 717. The assimilation of rg to $g(g)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varga* 'row,' Prak. Pāli *vagga*. Skt. *mārga-yati* 'seeks,' Prak. *maggaṭ*, Pāli *maggaṭi*, *maggeṭi*, Ass. *māg*, Kāśm. *maṅg*, Ur. *māg*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *māṅg*, Panj. *maṅg*, Sindhī *maṅ*, Guj., Mar. *māg*, Gyp. *mang*.

$rgr > (g)gh$.

§ 718. The assimilation of rgr to $(g)gh$ is found but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirgrantha* 'ascetic,' Prak. (inscriptions of Delhi) *nighamta*.

$rgḥ > g(g)$.

§ 719. The assimilation of $rgḥ$ to $g(g)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārgḥa* 'costly,' Pāli *mahagga*, Ass. *mahamgā*, *magar*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahamgā*, Panj. *mahimḡā*, Sindhī *mahamḡō*, Guj. *māmghum*, Mar. *mahāg*, Maladive *agu*.

rg̃h > (*g*)*gh*.

§ 720. The assimilation of *rg̃h* to (*g*)*gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirghṛṇa* 'pitiless,' Prāk. *nigghina*. Skt. *argha* 'sacrifice,' Pālī *aggha*. Skt. *dirgha* 'long,' Prāk. *diggha*, *ḍiḥa*, Pālī *ḍiggha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*. *

rg̃h > *h*(*h*).

§ 721. The assimilation of *rg̃h* to *h*(*h*) is extremely rare (cf. § 152).

a. Indian. Skt. *dirgha* 'long,' Prāk. *ḍiḥa*, *diggha*, etc. (see preceding §).

rj > *j*(*j*).

§ 722. The assimilation of *rj* to *j*(*j*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garjita* 'must-elephant,' Prāk. *gajjida*, Pālī *gajjita*. Skt. *garjana* 'thunder,' Pālī *gajjana*, Hindī *gājanā*, Panj. *gajjanā*, Sindhī *gajanu*, Guj. *gājavun*, Mar. *gājanēm*.

rj > *rs*.

§ 723. The change of *rj* to *rs* is very rare (cf. § 185).

b. Iranian. Av. *arəjah* 'value,' Phl. *arj*, Pāz. *arsān*, New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *ašū*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, Afy. *yarz*.

rj > *ʃ*(*ʃ*).

§ 724. The assimilation of *rj* to *ʃ*(*ʃ*) is extremely rare (cf. § 186).

b. Iranian. Av. *arəjah* 'value,' Kāš. *ašū*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, etc. (see preceding §).

rjh > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 725. The assimilation of *rjh* to (*j*)*jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirjhara* 'cascade,' Prāk., Pālī *nijjhara*.

rn > *n*(*n*).

§ 726. The assimilation of *rn* to *n*(*n*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Prāk. *suvaṇṇa*, Pali *sonna*, *svaṇṇa*, Kaśm. *son*, Uṛ. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Bang. *sōnā*, Hindi, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhi *sō(m)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunam*, *sōnēm*, Gyp. *somnakāy*.

$rn > n(n)$.

§ 727. The assimilation of rn to $n(n)$ is very frequent in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *karna* 'ear,' Pali *kanna*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindi *kān*, Panj. *kann*, Sindhi *kanu*, Guj., Mar. *kan*, Gyp. *kan*. Skt. *tāmraparṇa* 'copper-leaf, Ceylon,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar, Khālsi, and Kapur di Giri) *tāmbapa(m)ni*, Pali *tambapannī* (Gr. Τανροβάνη). Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Kaśm. *son*, Uṛ. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Hindi, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhi *sō(m)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunam*, *sōnēm*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *arṇa* 'wool,' Pali *uṇṇa*, Hindi *ūn*, Panj. *unn*, Sindhi, Guj. *un*.

$rn > r(r)$.

§ 728. The assimilation of rn to $r(r)$ is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'powder,' Prāk., Pali *cunṇa*, Kaśm. *čūn*, Uṛ. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindi *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhi *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, but also with the signification 'lime,' Uṛ., Bang. *cunā*, Hindi, Panj. *cūnā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cūnō*, *cūṇō*, Mar. *cunā*, *cūṇā*. Skt. *pūrṇa* 'full,' Pali *punṇa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *pūrā*, Sindhi *pūrō*, Guj. *purō*, Mar. *purā*.

$rt > rth$.

§ 729. The aspirization of rt to rth is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Waxī *sūr(i)*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sarth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*.

$rt > t(f)$.

§ 730. The assimilation of rt to $t(f)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nartakī* 'dancing-girl,' Prāk. *naṭṭai*, Pali

naṣṭaka, New Ind. dialects *naṣṭi*. Skt. *varṭaka* 'quail,' Pali *vaṭṭaka*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *vaṭṭer*, Sindhi *baṭṭerō*, Sihh. *vaṭṭvā*.

rt > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 731. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 226).

a. Indian. Skt. *garta* 'ditch,' Prāk. *gaḍḍa*, Uṛ. *gaḍibā*, Bang. *gaḍ*, Hindī *gaḍ*, *gaḍā*, Panj. *gaḍḍanā*, Sindhi *gāraṇu*, Guj. *gāravuṇ*, Mar. *gāraṇem*.

rt > t(t).

§ 732. The assimilation of *rt* to *t(t)* is very common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *muhūrta* 'instant,' Prāk., Pali *muhutta*. Skt. *āvarta* 'whirlpool,' Pali *āvatta*, *āvatta*. Skt. *varṭika* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattia*, Pali *vaṭṭika*, Uṛ. *baṭi*, Bang. *bāṭi*, Hindī, Panj. *batti*, Sindhi *vaṭi*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *kartari* 'scissors,' Prāk. *kattari*, Uṛ. *katurā*, Bang. *kataran*, Hindī, Panj. *kataranī*, Sindhi *katari*, Mar. *kātar*.

rt > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 733. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *karṣta* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, Šiyn. *ceḍ*, Kurd. *kird*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*.

rt > rd.

§ 734. The softening of *rt* to *rd* is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karṣta* 'knife,' New Pers. *kārd*, Kurd. *kīrd*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *varṭaka* 'quail,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardīj*, Waxī *volc*, Afy. *nvaras*, Bal. *vardag*, Kurd. *vardi*.

rt > r(r).

§ 735. The assimilation of *rt* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarṣta* 'cold,' Waxī *sūr(t)*, Kurd. *sār*, etc.

(see § 729). Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Kurd. *kīr*, *kīrd*, etc. (see § 733).

rt > *l(l)*.

§ 736. The assimilation of *rt* to *l(l)* is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *porətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *pul*, Gil. *purd*, Kurd. *pəl*, *par*, *pīrd*, *purd*.

rt > *ld*.

§ 737. The softening of *rt* to *ld* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Tag. Oss. *sald*, etc. (see § 729).

rt > *hl*.

§ 738. The change of *rt* to *hl* is found occasionally (cf. §§ 227, 742).

b. Iranian. Av. *porətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhl*, *puhr*, etc. (see § 736).

rth > *t(f)*.

§ 739. The assimilation of *rth* to *t(f)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *attha*, *aṭṭha* (cf. inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *anaṭha*), Pālī *aṭṭa*, *aṭṭha*, *attha*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pālī *catuttha*, Uṛ. *cāṭhā*, Bang. *cāṭa*, Hindi, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāumthā*.

rth > *(f)ṭh*.

§ 740. The assimilation of *rth* to *(f)ṭh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *aṭṭha*, *attha* (Kapur di Giri) *anaṭha*, Pālī *aṭṭha*, *attha*, *aṭṭa*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caṭṭha*, *cottha*, Śaur. Prāk. *caduṭṭha*, Uṛ. *cāṭhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rth > *(f)th*.

§ 741. The assimilation of *rth* to *(f)th* is the normal one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pālī *catuttha*,

Hindī, Panj. *cūthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cūmīthā*, etc. (see § 739).

rth > *hl*

§ 742. The change of *rth* to *hl* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 354, 245, 956).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *parthava* nom. prop., Phl., New Pers. *pahlav*. Skt. *samartha* 'suitable,' New Pers. *hamāl*.

rd > *ḍ(ḍ)*

§ 743. The assimilation of *rd* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chardati* 'rejects,' Prāk. *chaḍḍati*, Pali *chaḍḍeti*, Ass. *cār* (pron. *sār*), Kaśm. *char*, *čar*, Ur., Bang. *chār*, Old Hindī *chamd*, E. Hindī, Hindī *chāmṛ*, Panj. *chaḍḍ*, Sindhī *chaḍ*, Mar. *sāmṛ*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pali *gadrabha*, but *gaddabhaṇḍa*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Ur. *gadha*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *gadha*, Panj. *gadha*, *gaddā*, Sindhī *gaḍḍahu*, Guj. *gaḍhērō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*, Gyp. *kheh*, *kher*, (*k*)*fer*.

rd > (*ḍ*)*ḍh*.

§ 744. The assimilation of *rd* to (*ḍ*)*ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Mar. *gāḍhav*, etc. (see preceding §).

rd > *d(d)*.

§ 745. The assimilation of *rd* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturdaśa* 'fourteen,' Prāk. *caṭṭdaha*, Pali *catuddasa*, *cōddasa*, *cuddasa*, Kaśm. *čōdāh*, Ur. *cāuda*, Bang. *cāudda*, Bihārī, Hindī *cāudah*, Panj. *cāudām*, Sindhī *cōḍaham*, Guj. *caūd*, Mar. *cāudā*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gad-daha*, *gaḍḍaha*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Panj. *gaddā*, *gadhā*, etc. (see § 743).

rd > (*d*)*dḥ*.

§ 746. The assimilation of *rd* to (*d*)*dḥ* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Ass. *gādh*, Ur. *gadha*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindi, Hindi *gadha*, Panj. *gadha*, *gaddā*, Guj. *gadherō*, etc. (see § 743).

rd > *r(r)*.

§ 747. The assimilation of *rd* to *r(r)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapaṛikā* 'small shell,' Prak. *kavadda*, E. Hindi, Hindi *kāuri*, *kaurī*, Anglo-Ind. *cowry*.

rd > *l(l)*.

§ 748. The assimilation of *rd* to *l(l)* is exceedingly rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is not infrequent (cf. §§ 354, 258).

a. Indian. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prak. *baṭṭa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəda* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*.

rdh > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 749. The assimilation of *rdh* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhate* 'grows,' Prak. *vaḍḍhat*, Pali *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Kāsm. *baḍ*, Ur. *barḥ*, Bang. *baḍ*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bāḍh*, W. Hindi *barḥ*, Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *vaḍh*, Mar. *bāḍh*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prak. *saddha*, *saḍḍha*, Kāsm. *sādu*, Ur. *sārḥē*, Bang. *sārē*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sārḥē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhi *sāḍhā*, Guj. *sāḍā*, Mar. *sāḍē*, Sinh. *aḍa*.

rdh > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 750. The assimilation of *rdh* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhate* 'grows,' Prak. *vaḍḍhat*, Pali *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Ur. *barḥ*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bāḍh*, W. Hindi *barḥ*, Mar. *bāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vardhaki* 'carpenter,' Ur., Bang., E. Hindi, Hindi *barḥāi*, Panj. *baḍḍhi*, Sindhi, Guj. *vāḍhō*, Mar. *varḥat*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prak. *saḍḍha*,

saddha, Ur., E. Hindi, Hindi *sārhe*, Panj. *sāḍhe*, Sindhi *sāḍha*, etc. (see preceding §).

rdh > (d)dh.

§ 751. The assimilation of *rdh* to (d)dh is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhate* 'grows,' Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *vadh*, etc. (see § 749).

rdhv > (d)dh.

§ 752. The assimilation of *rdhv* to (d)dh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prāk., Pali *uddha*, *ubbha*, Sindhi *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhum*, Mar. *ubhā*.

rdhv > (b)bh.

§ 753. The assimilation of *rdhv* to (b)bh is frequent in the Indian dialects (*rdhv* > *ddhv* > *ddhb* > *dhb* > *bbh*).

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prāk., Pali *ubbha*, *uddha*, Sindhi *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhum*, Mar. *ubhā*.

rn > *n*(*n*).

§ 754. The assimilation of *rn* to *n*(*n*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in Afyān, which has borrowed the cerebral row from the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' New Pers. *kar(r)*, Lāym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cūnn*, Afy. *kōn*, *kūn*, Oss. *kurmatha*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxi *par*, Afy. *pāṇa*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *par*, Zaza *pal*.

rn > *n*(*n*).

§ 755. The assimilation of *rn* to *n*(*n*) is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' Lāym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cūnn*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Šiyn. *vūn*, *vōn*, Sarq. *vōn*. Av. *parəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*, Yāyn. *pun*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Bal. *pan*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rn > r(r)$.

§ 756. The assimilation of rn to $r(r)$ is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *darəna* 'gullet,' New Pers. *darrah*, Waxi *ḍər*, Sarq. *ḍar*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxi, Kurd. *par*, etc. (see § 754). Av. *xʷarənah* 'glory,' Old Pers. *vīda]**farnah*, Phl. *farn]**bag*, New Pers. *far(r)*.

$rn > l(l)$.

§ 757. The assimilation of rn to $l(l)$ is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 281).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Zaza *pal*, etc. (see § 754).

$rp > p(p)$.

§ 758. The assimilation of rp to $p(p)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pali *sappa*, Ur., Bang. *sāp*, Hindī *sāmp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Sirhh. *sapu*, *sap(ā)*, *hapu*, Gyp. *sap*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Prāk., Pali *kappūra*, New Ind. dialects *kapūr*, except Mar. *kāpūr*.

$rb > b(b)$.

§ 759. The assimilation of rb to $b(b)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arbuda* 'ten million raised to the eighth power,' Pali *abbuda*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pali *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dubar*, Hindī *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhī *ḍubirō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj., Mar. *dubāl*.

$rbh > (b)bh$.

§ 760. The assimilation of rbh to $(b)bh$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dial

a. Indian. Skt. *garbha* 'uterus,' Prāk., Pali *gabbha*, Hindī *garabh*, *gābh*, Panj. *gabbh*, *gābh*, *garabh*, Sindhī *gabhū*, *garabhū*, Guj., Mar. *gābh*, cf. also Gyp. *khabnī* 'pregnant.'

rm > *m(m)*.

§ 761. The assimilation of *rm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *carman* 'skin,' Prāk., Pāli *camma*, New Ind. dialects *cām*, excepting Panj. *camm*, Sindhi *camu*, Sinh. *sama*, *hama*. Skt. *karman* 'deed,' Prāk., Pāli *kamma*, New Ind. dialects *kām*, excepting Panj. *kamm*, Sindhi *kamu*, Sinh. *kama*.

rm > *r(r)*.

§ 762. The assimilation of *rm* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *carēman* 'skin,' Phl. *carmin*, New Pers. *carm*, Afy. *čarman*, Tag. Oss. *čar*, *čarm*. Av. *garēma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garma-*, New Pers., Šīn. *garm*, Sarq. *gūrm*, *tūrm*, Afy. *yārma*, Bal. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *yar*, *yarm*, Tag. *qarm*.

ry > *j(j)*.

§ 763. The assimilation of *ry* to *j(j)* is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Prāk. *kajja*, Māg. Prāk. *kayyē*, Śaur. Prāk. *kera*, Pāli *kayya*, *kāriya*, *kayira*, Hindi, Panj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Sindhi *kārju*, Guj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Mar. *kāj*.

ry > *r(r)*.

§ 764. The assimilation of *ry* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tūrya* 'trumpet,' Prāk. *tūra*, Pāli *tūriya*, Uṛ. *turt*, Bang. *turum*, Hindi *tūrt*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *tūram*, Sindhi, Guj. *turt*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suṛja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindi, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhi *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *sūr*, *suraj*, Sinh. (*h*)*īru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cīrya* 'brave,' Phl., New Pers. *čir*. Av. *airya* 'noble,' Oss. *ir*.

ry > *rj*.

§ 765. The change of *ry* to *rj* is not unknown to the Indian dialects (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Sindhi *kārju* (cf. also Hindi, Panj., Guj. *kāraj*, *kāj*), etc. (see § 763). Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Sindhi *sūrju*, *sūriju* (cf. also Hindi, Panj. *sūraj*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*), etc. (see preceding §).

ry > l(l).

§ 766. The assimilation of *ry* to *l(l)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 354).

a. Indian. Skt. *panyāṅka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallamka*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *paliamka*, Pali *pallamka*, New Ind. *palamg*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *panyāna* 'saddle,' Prāk. *pallāna*, Uṛ. *palāna*, Bang. *palān*, Hindi *pālān*, Panj. *palan*, Sindhi *palānu*, Guj. *palān(ō)*, Mar. *pālān*.

rv > p(p).

§ 767. The hardening of *rv* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Pali *cappēti*, Uṛ. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindi *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhi *caḷ*, Guj., Mar. *cān*, Sinh. *sapanavā*, *hapanavā*.

rv > b(b).

§ 768. The assimilation of *rv* to *b(b)* is not very frequent (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Uṛ. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindi *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhi *caḷ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Pali *pabbata*, Sinh. *pava*. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *sarva*, Pali *sabba*, Ass. *sab*, Uṛ. *sabu*, Bang. *sab*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sab*, *sabh*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhi *sabhu*, Gyp. *savorō*.

rv > (b)bh.

§ 769. The assimilation of *rv* to *(b)bh* is extremely rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Hindi, E. Hindi *sabh*, *sab*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhi *sabhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

rv > rbh.

§ 770. The change of *rv* to *rbh* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *parvan* 'festival,' Pali *pabba*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *parab*, Sindhi *pirbhu*, Guj., Mar. *parv*.

rv > *r(r)*.

§ 771. The assimilation of *rv* to *r(r)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *haurva* 'all,' Old Pers. *haruva*, Phl., New Pers. *har*.

rv > *v(v)*.

§ 772. The assimilation of *rv* to *v(v)* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *savva*, etc. (see § 768).
Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Sinh. *pava*, etc. (see § 768).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *yārvar* 'friend' besides *yāvar*.

rś > *ns*.

§ 773. The change of *rś* to *ns* is very rare in Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *darśana* 'sight,' Prāk. *damśana*, Ass. *dar-sana* (pron. *darhana*), Sindhi *darsanu*.

rś > *s(s)*.

§ 774. The assimilation of *rś* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparsana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pali *phassa*, Hindi, Panj. *phamsanā*, Sindhi *phasanu*, Guj. *phasavum*, Mar. *phasanēm*.

rśv > *s(s)*.

§ 775. The assimilation of *rśv* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pārsva* 'side,' Prāk. *pāsa*, Hindi *pās*, Panj. *pās*, *pāh*, Sindhi, Guj. *pāś*, Mar. *pālas*, *pāsim*, Gyp. *pāś*.

rśv > *h(h)*.

§ 776. The assimilation of *rśv* to *h(h)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 401).

a. Indian. Skt. *pārsva* 'side,' Panj. *pāh*, *pās*, etc. (see preceding §).

$r\dot{s} > (d)\dot{d}h$.

§ 777. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $(d)\dot{d}h$ is very rare (cf. § 351).

a. Indian. Skt. *karṣaṇa* 'dragging,' Ur. *kārhibā*, Bang. *kārhan*, Hindi *kārhnā*, Panj. *karrhanā*, Sindhi *karhaṇu*, Guj. *kāhāravum*, Mar. *kārhanēṁ*.

$r\dot{s} > r(r)$.

§ 778. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mārgaśīrṣa* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasīru*, Ur. *māg(h)uśīra*, *magusara*, Panj. *maghar*, Sindhi *manghīru*.

$r\dot{s} > rs$.

§ 779. The change of $r\dot{s}$ to rs is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Afy. *vraš*, Bal. *bušk*, Dig. Oss. *barəa*, Tag. *barə*.

$r\dot{s} > \dot{s}(\dot{s})$.

§ 780. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $\dot{s}(\dot{s})$ is very rare (cf. § 407).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *stsa*, Pali *stsa*, Hindi, Panj. *stṣ*, Sindhi *sist*, Guj. *śiś*, Mar. *śi(m)s*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*.

$r\dot{s}, r\dot{s} > \dot{s}(\dot{s}), \dot{s}(\dot{s})$.

§ 781. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}, r\dot{s}$ to $\dot{s}(\dot{s}), \dot{s}(\dot{s})$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varṣa* 'year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *vaṣa*, *varṣa*, lit. Prāk. *vāsa*, Pali *vassa*, Gyp. *berš*, *breš*.

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Bal. *bušk*, etc. (see § 779). Av. *karṣayan* 'they may drag,' Phl. *kašītanō*, New Pers. *kašīdan*, Afy. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kišām*.

$r\dot{s} > s(s)$.

§ 782. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $s(s)$ occurs frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 408).

a. Indian. Skt. *śiṛṣa* 'head,' Prak. *sissa*, *śisa*, li *śisa*, Hindi, Panj. *śis*, Sindhi *sist*, Mar. *śi(n)s*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 780).

$rs > h(h)$.

§ 783. The assimilation of *rs* to *h(h)* is excessively rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārṣāpaṇa* 'a certain coin,' Prak. *kāhāṇa*, Pali *kahāpaṇa*, Ur. *kāhāṇa*, Bang. *kahan*, Hindi *kahān*. Skt. *śiṛṣa* 'head,' Sinh. *iha*, *isa*, *sis*, *his*, etc. (see § 780). Skt. *varṣati* 'rains,' Pali *vassati*, Sinh. *vahinu*, Maladive *vehenti*.

$rśn > kh, x$.

§ 784. The assimilation of *rśn* to *kh, x*, is very rare (cf. § 922).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxi *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunt*, Kurd. *tī*, *tani*.

$rśn > n(n)$.

§ 785. The assimilation of *rśn* to *n(n)* is quite rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunt*, Kurd. *tani*, *tī*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rśn > r(r)$.

§ 786. The assimilation of *rśn* to *r(r)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Sarq. *tūr(i)*, etc. (see § 784).

$rśn > rs$.

§ 787. The assimilation of *rśn* to *rs* is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, Tag. Oss. *urs*, S. Oss. *vurs*.

$rśn > rs$.

§ 788. The assimilation of *rśn* to *rs* is most rare (cf. § 925).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' S. Oss. *vurs*, etc. (see preceding §).

$r\dot{s}n > \dot{s}(\dot{s})$.

§ 789. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{s}(\dot{s})$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' New Pers. *tiš*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\dot{s}n > \dot{s}n$.

§ 790. The reduction of $r\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{s}n$ is quite common.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Yidg. *trušna*, etc. (see § 784). Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, etc. (see § 787).

$r\dot{s}n > \dot{s}(\dot{s})$.

§ 791. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{s}(\dot{s})$ is extremely rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Afy. *tašai*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\dot{s}v > \dot{s}v$.

§ 792. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}v$ to $\dot{s}v$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karšvar* 'olime,' Phl., New Pers. *kišvar*.

$rs > hl$.

§ 793. The transposition of rs to hl is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 421).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəsu* 'side,' Phl. *pahluk*, New Pers. *pahlū*.

$rs > l(\dot{l})$.

§ 794. The assimilation of rs to $l(\dot{l})$ is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəsiš* 'pillow,' Phl. *bališn*, New Pers. *bališ*, Gab. *bališt*, Kāš. *bōlēšm*, *bōlišt*.

$r\dot{h} > r(r)$.

§ 795. The assimilation of $r\dot{h}$ to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gārī*, *gālī*.

$r\dot{h} > l(\dot{l})$.

§ 796. The assimilation of $r\dot{h}$ to $l(\dot{l})$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gālī*, *gārī*.

lk > k(k).

§ 797. The assimilation of *lk* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ulka* 'meteor,' Prak., Pali *ukkā*, Hindi *lukā*, Sindhi *luk*. Skt. *valkala* 'bark,' Prak., Pali *vakkala*, Sindhi *bakaru*.

lg > g(g).

§ 798. The assimilation of *lg* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *valgā* 'rein,' New Ind. dialects *bāg*. Skt. *valguti* 'bat,' Pali *vagguti*.

lp > p(p).

§ 799. The assimilation of *lp* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalpa* 'time,' Pali *kappa*. Skt. *kalpatē* 'conducts himself,' Māhar. Prak. *kappaṣ*, Pali *kappati*, Sinh. *kapanavā*.

lm > mb.

§ 800. The assimilation of *lm'* to *mb* is very rare (cf. §§ 823, 860).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmali* 'silk-cotton tree,' Jaina Prak. *sambila*, Pali *simbali*, Uṛ. *śimila*, *śimula*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindi *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simabaḷ*, *simmaḷ*, Mar. *sāmvar*.

lm > m(m).

§ 801. The assimilation of *lm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmali* 'silk-cotton tree,' Uṛ. *śimila*, *śimula*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindi *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simmaḷ*, *simabaḷ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *jālma* 'reckless,' Pali *jamma*.

lm > mv.

§ 802. The change of *lm* to *mv* is extremely rare in Indian (cf. §§ 824, 860).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmali* 'silk-cotton tree,' Mar. *sāmvar*, etc. (see § 800).

ly > *l(l)*.

§ 803. The assimilation of *ly* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' Prak., Pali *kalla*, Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *kāli*, E. Hindi, Hindi *kāl*, *kālh*, Panj. *kall*, *kallh*, Sindhi *kālh*, Guj., Mar. *kāl*.

ly > *(l)h*.

§ 804. The assimilation of *ly* to *(l)h* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' E. Hindi, Hindi *kālh*, *kāl*, Panj. *kallh*, *kall*, Sindhi *kālh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mālya* 'price,' Prak. *mulla*, *molla*, Kasm. *mōl*, Uṛ. *mula*, Bang., Hindi *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhi *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*.

lw > *b(b)*.

§ 805. The assimilation of *lw* to *b(b)* is extremely rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pali *pabbaja*.

lv > *l(l)*.

§ 806. The assimilation of *lv* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bilva* 'wood-apple,' Pali *billa*, *bella*, New Ind. dialects *bēl*. Skt. *khalvāṭa* 'bald,' Prak. *khallīḍa*, Pali *khallāṭa*.

vy > *b(b)*.

§ 807. The assimilation of *vy* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 372).

In Bangālī *vy* is regularly pronounced *b*.

a. Indian. Skt. *svyati* 'sews,' Pali *sibbati*. Skt. *vyatīta* 'passed,' Uṛ. *bitibā*, Hindi *bitnā*, Panj. *bititānā*, Guj. *vaṭavum*. Skt. *vyamśana* 'division,' Hindi *bāchnā*, Panj. *baṁchuanā*, Sindhi *virchanu*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prak. *vaggha*, Pali *vyagha*, Hindi *bāgh*, Sindhi *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*.

vy > *v(v)*.

§ 808. The assimilation of *vy* to *v(v)* occurs very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vyatita* 'passed,' Guj. *vaṭavun*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prak. *vaggā*, Sindhi *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*, etc. (see preceding §).

vr > *v(v)*.

§ 809. The assimilation of *vr* to *v(v)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *urvasī* nom. prop., Prak. *uvvasī*. Skt. *vr̥hi* 'rice,' Prak., Pali *v̥hi*, Sinh. *et*.

śc > *c(c)*.

§ 810. The assimilation of *śc* to *c(c)* is not very common.

a. Indian. Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prak. *acchēra*, Pali *acchēra*, *acchariya*, Hindi, Panj. *acaraj*, Sindhi *acaraj*, *acarāt*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prak., Pali *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē* (pron. *piṣē*, *pāṣē*), Kāśm. *paṭ(h)*, Uṛ. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē* (pron. *pāṣā*, *piṣē*), Hindi *pachē*, *pāchā*, *pichā*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhi *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Sinh. *pas(u)*.

śc > *(c)ch*.

§ 811. The assimilation of *śc* to *(c)ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ścika* 'scorpion,' Prak. *vimcua*, *vicchua*, *vimchua*, Pali *vicchika*, Nāip. *bicchu*, Kāśm. *bīc*, *bāch*, Uṛ., Bang. *bichā*, E. Hindi *biccu*, Hindi *bichuā*, Panj. *vicchā*, Sindhi *vichām*, Guj. *vichu*, *vimchā*, Mar. *viñcā*, *vimchām*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prak., Pali *pacchā*, Uṛ. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē*, Hindi *pachē*, *pāchā*, *pichā*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, etc. (see preceding §).

śc > *s(s)*.

§ 812. The assimilation of *śc* to *s(s)* is very rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Ass. *piṣē*, *pāṣē* (written *pichē*, *pāchē*), Bang. *pāsā*, *piṣē* (written *pāchā*, *pichē*), Sinh. *pas(u)*, etc. (see § 810).

Syncope of śc.

§ 813. The loss of internal *śc* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Sindhi *pōḥ*, *puām*, etc. (see § 810). Skt. *trayaścatvāriṃśat* 'forty-three,' Prāk. *teālīsā*, Kāśm. *tēyatājih*, Bihārī *tāmtālīs*, Hindi *teālīs*, *tetalīsā*, *tāimtālīs*, Sindhi *ṭetālīh*.

śm > m(m).

§ 814. The assimilation of *śm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṃsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *mūmch*, Hindi *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhi *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Prāk. *masāṇa*, Māg. Prāk. *maśāṇa*, Jaina Prāk. *styāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, Uṛ. *maśāṇa*, Bang. *maśān*, Hindi *maśān*, Panj. *masāṇ*, Sindhi *masāṇu*, Guj. *masāṇ*, Mar. *masaṇ*.

śm > s(s).

§ 815. The assimilation of *śm* to *s(s)* is comparatively rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Jaina Prāk. *styāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *raśmi* 'ray,' Prāk. *rassi*, Pāli *rasmi*, *ramsi*, Ass. *raci* (pron. *rasi*), Kāśm. *raś*, Uṛ., Bang. *rasi*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *rassā*, *rassī*, Sindhi *rasi*, Mar. *rassi*.

śr > ṛj.

§ 816. The change of *śr* to *ṛj* is very rare (cf. § 350 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *āśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *āmsu*, Pāli *assu*, Kāśm. *āuṣ*, *aṣū*, Nāip. *āmsū*, Uṛ. *ōmjhū*, *āmsū*, Bihārī, Hindi *āmsū*, Panj. *āṛjhu*, Sindhi *haṛj*, Guj. *āṛju*, Mar. *āmsū*, *asū*.

śr > ṛjh.

§ 817. The change of *śr* to *ṛjh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' U_r. *āmjhū*, *āmsū*, Panj. *aājhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

śr > *ś(s)*.

§ 818. The assimilation of *śr* to *ś(s)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' U_r. *śuṇibā*, Bang. *śunan*, Hindi *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhi *suṇaṇu*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pali *sassu*, U_r. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindi *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhi *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*.

śr > *s(s)*.

§ 819. The assimilation of *śr* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṃsu*, Pali *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *māmch*, Hindi *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhi *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *āmsu*, Pali *assu*, Nāip. *āmsū*, U_r. *āmśū*, *āmjhū*, Bihārī, Hindi *āmsū*, Mar. *āmsū*, *āsū*, etc. (see § 816). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pali *sassu*, Bang. *śās*, Hindi *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhi *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Hindi *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhi *suṇaṇu*, etc. (see preceding §).

śl > *s(s)*.

§ 820. The assimilation of *śl* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *śimbha*, Pali *śilēsuma*, *sēmha*, Sinh. *sem(a)*.

śv > *s(s)*.

§ 821. The assimilation of *śv* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśva* 'horse,' Prāk. *assa*, *āsa*, Pali *assa*, Sinh. *as*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pali *issara*, Hindi, Panj. *īsar*, cf. also Sindhi *paramēsuru*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pali *sassu*, U_r. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindi *sās*, Panj. *sassū*,

Sindhi *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*. Skt. *śvāsa* 'breath,' Prāk., Pali *sāsa*, Sindhi *sāhu*.

ṣk > k(k).

§ 822. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *k(k)* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṣkṛta* 'evil,' Prāk. *dukkada*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *dukata*, Pali *dukkata*, *dukkata*. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukka*, *sukkha*, Pali *sukkha*, Ass. *sukāna* (pron. *hukāna*), Kāsm. *hōkh*, Uṛ., Bang. *śukā*, Hindi *sukhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Sindhi *sukō*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukā*, *sukhā*. Skt. *niṣkarṣaṇa* 'dragging out,' Pali *nikkaḍḍha*, Hindi *nikālanā*, *nikāsanā*, Panj. *nik(k)āsaṇā*, *nikkālaṇā*, Sindhi *nikāraṇum*, *nikeraṇu*, *nikarār-ṇum*, Guj. *nikālavum*, *nikāsavum*, Mar. *nikāṭaṇem*, *nikāl*.

ṣk > (k)kh.

§ 823. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *(k)kh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukkha*, *sukka*, Pali *sukha*, Kāsm. *hōkh*, Hindi *sukhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukhā*, *sukā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣkara* 'pool,' Prāk., Pali *pokkhara*, Uṛ. *pōkhari*, Bang. *putur*, Hindi, Mar. *pōkhar*.

ṣṭ > ṭ(ṭ).

§ 824. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ṭ(ṭ)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣṭa* 'polished,' Pali *maṭṭa*, *maṭṭha*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prāk. *saṭṭhi*, Kāsm. *śāiṭh*, *śeṭh*, Uṛ. *sāṭhi*, Bang. *sāeṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindi *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhi *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*, Sinh. *sāṭa*.

ṣṭ > (ṭ)ṭh.

§ 825. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *(ṭ)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pali *laṭṭhi*, Uṛ., Bang. *lāṭhi*, Hindi *lāṭhi*, *lāṭ(ī)*, Panj. *laṭṭhi*, Sindhi *lāṭhi*, Guj. *lāṭh*, *lāt*, Mar. *laṭh*, Skt. *aṣṭau* 'eight,' Prāk.,

Pali *aṭṭha*, Kāśm. *aṭh*, Uṛ. *aṭha*, Bang. *aṭa*, Bihārī, Hindi *aṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhi *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *aṭh*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prak. *saṭṭhi*, Kāśm. *śaiṭh*, *seṭh*, Uṛ. *sāṭhi*, Bang. *sāṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindi *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhi *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*.

ṣṭ > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 826. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare (cf. § 192).

a. Indian. Skt. *veṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Pali *veṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāśm. *vāḍ*, *vār*, Uṛ. *bhērā*, *berhā*, Bang. *bērā*, Hindi, Panj. *berhā*, Multānī *verhā*, Sindhi *vaḍehō*, *verhā*, Mar. *veḍhā*. Skt. *leṣṭu* 'clod,' Māhar. Prak. *leṭṭhuya*, Pali *leḍḍu*.

ṣṭ > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 827. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare (cf. § 193).

a. Indian. Skt. *veṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Uṛ. *berhā*, *bhērā*, Hindi, Panj. *berhā*, Multānī *verhā*, Sindhi *verhā*, *vaḍehō*, Mar. *veḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ruṣṭa* 'angry,' Bang., Hindi, Panj. *ruḍh*.

ṣṭr > *(ṣ)ṣ*.

§ 828. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(ṣ)ṣ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṭra* 'camel,' Prak. *uṣṭa*, Kāśm. *(v)aiṣṭh*, Bihārī *aiṣṭh*, Sindhi *uṣhu*.

ṣṭr > *(ṣ)ṣh*.

§ 829. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(ṣ)ṣh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārāṣṭra* 'great kingdom,' Pali *mahārāṭṭha*, Sindhi *marāṭhi*, Guj. *marēṭhō*.

ṣṭr > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 830. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prak. *dāḍhā*, Pali *daṭṭhā*, Uṛ. *dāḍh(ṭ)*, Bang. *dār(ṭ)*, Hindi *dāḍh(ṭ)*, Panj. *dāḥaḍ(ṭ)*, Sindhi *ḍāṭh*, *ḍāḍah*, Guj. *dāḍhi*, *ḍāḥar*, Mar. *dāḍh*, Sinh. *daḷa*.

ṣṭr > (ḍ)ḍh.

§ 831. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to (ḍ)ḍh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prak. *dāḍhā*, Ur., Hindi *dāḍh(ṭ)*, Guj. *daḍhi*, *ḍahār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣṭr > ḷḷ.

§ 832. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to ḷḷ is excessively rare (cf. § 213).

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Sinh. *daḷa*, etc. (see § 830).

ṣṭr > h(h).

§ 833. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to h(h) is exceedingly rare (cf. § 206 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Panj. *dāhaḍ(ṭ)*, Guj. *ḍahār*, *dāḍhi*, etc. (see § 830).

ṣṭh > ṭ(ṭ).

§ 834. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to ṭ(ṭ) is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṣṭha* 'granary,' Pali *koṭṭha*, New Ind. dialects *koṭṭ*, *koṭṭh*.

ṣṭh > (ṭ)ṭh.

§ 835. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to (ṭ)ṭh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Apab. Prak. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Pali *piṭṭha*, Ass., Ur. *piṭhi*, Bang. *piṭhi*, *piṭ*, Hindi *piṭh*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Sindhi *puṭhi*, Guj. *puṭh*, *pāṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, Gyp. *pūsto*. Skt. *gōṣṭhi* 'assembly,' Prak. *goṭṭhi*, Pali *goṭṭha*, Sindhi *gōṭhu*, Mar. *gōṭṭhi*. Skt. *oṣṭha* 'lip,' Māhār. Prak. *oṭṭha*, *uṭṭha*, Pali *oṭṭha*, Kāśm. *vuṭh*, Ur. *oṭha*, Bihārī *hō(m)ṭh*, Hindi *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *oṭh*, *hōṭ*, Mar. *ōmṭh*, Gyp. *vuṣṭ*.

ṣṭh > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 836. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to ḍ(ḍ) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ur. *kudha*, Bang. *kudī*, Sindhi *kōrhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōr*, *kōrh*, *kōhōr*.

ṣṭh > (ḍ)ḍh.

§ 837. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to (ḍ)ḍh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ur. *kuḍha*, Sindhi *kōṛhu*, Guj. Mar. *kōṛh*, *kōṛ*, *kōhōṛ*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇ(ṇ)$.

§ 838. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇ(ṇ)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prak., Pali *uṇha* (but Pali *sītunnaka* 'heat and cold' besides *sītunhaka*), Sindhi *uṇ*, Guj. *unhum*, Mar. *uṇha*, Sinh. (*h*)*uṇu*.

$ṣṇ > ṇ(n)$.

§ 839. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇ(n)$ occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Sinh. (*h*)*uṇu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇh$.

§ 840. The change of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇh$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prak. *uṇha*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Prak., Pali *kaṇha*, Hindi, Panj. *kānh*, *kaṇhāi*, Sindhi *kānu*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*.

$ṣṇ > n(n)$.

§ 841. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $n(n)$ occurs frequently (cf. § 218).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīta* 'cold' + *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Pali *sītunnaka*, *sītunhaka*, Mar. *uṇha*, etc. (cf. § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Sindhi *kānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇh$.

§ 842. The change of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇh$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Guj. *unhum*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Hindi, Panj. *kānh*, *kaṇhāi*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*, etc. (see § 840).

$ṣṇ > h(h)$.

§ 843. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $h(h)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *tr̥ṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṇhā*, Pāli *tiṇhā*, *tasinā*, Panj. *tihā*, Sindhi *ṭih*, Mar. *tahān*.

ʃp > p(p).

§ 844. The assimilation of *ʃp* to *p(p)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śaur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kāśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindi *bā(m)ph*, Hindi *bhāp*, *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *ḥāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppaha*, Kāśm. *pōṣ*, Bihārī *phūp*, *phūph*, Old Hindi *puhup*, Hindi *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phūl*. Skt. *niṣputra* 'sonless,' Sindhi *nipuṭrō*.

ʃp > (p)ph.

§ 845. The assimilation of *ʃp* to *(p)ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bappha* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' E. Hindi *bā(m)ph*, Hindi *bā(m)ph*, *bhāp*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *ḥāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppaha*, Bihārī *phūph*, *phūp*, etc. (see preceding §).

ʃp > h(h).

§ 846. The assimilation of *ʃp* to *h(h)* is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 300).

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Kāśm. *bāha*, etc. (see § 844).

ʃm > (b)bh.

§ 847. The assimilation of *ʃm* to *(b)bh* is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Old Hindi *ubh*, Mar. *umhaḷ*. Skt. *gr̥iṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk. *gimha*, Apab. Prāk. *gimbha*, Pāli *gimha*, Old Hindi *garisam*, Mar. *gimbh*, *gim*.

ʃm > m(m).

§ 848. The assimilation of *ʃm* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Mar. *gīm*, *gimbh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ḡm > mḥ.

§ 849. The change of *ḡm* to *mḥ* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk., Pali *gimha*, etc. (see § 847). Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Mar. *umhā*, etc. (see § 847).

ḡy > (k)kh.

§ 850. The change of *ḡy* to *(k)kh* is very rare (cf. § 404).

a. Indian. Skt. *śiṣya* 'pupil,' Prāk. *śiśa*, Pali *sissa*, Sindhi *sikhu*.

ḡy > ṣṣ.

§ 851. The assimilation of *ḡy* to *ṣṣ* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prāk. *pūsa*, Uṛ. *pūṣa*, Bang. *pāuṣ*, Hindi *pūs*, Panj. *pōh*, Sindhi *pōhu*.

ḡy > s(s).

§ 852. The assimilation of *ḡy* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣyati* 'dries,' Prāk. *sūsat*, Pali *sussati*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prāk. *pūsa*, Hindi *pūs*, etc. (see preceding §).

ḡy > h(h).

§ 853. The change of *ḡy* to *h(h)* is very rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyāmi* 'I shall be,' Prāk. *hōhāmi*, *hōhimi*, *hossāmi*, Pali *bhavissāmi*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Panj. *pōh*, Sindhi *pōhu*, etc. (see § 851).

sk > k(k).

§ 854. The assimilation of *sk* to *k(k)* is very frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *taskara* 'thief,' Prāk., Pali *takkara*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pali *khandha*, Ur., Bang., Hindi *kāmdhā*, Panj. *kannh*, *kāmdhā*, Sindhi, Guj. *kāmdhō*, Mar. *khāmdā*, Elu *kaṁda*, Maladive *koḍu*.

sk > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 855. The assimilation of *sk* to (*k*)*kh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pali *khandha*, Mar. *khāmdā*, etc. (see preceding §).

sc > *c*(*c*).

§ 856. The assimilation of *sc* to *c*(*c*) is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascaṣ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāš. *pac*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšt*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*.

sc > š(*š*).

§ 857. The assimilation of *sc* to š(*š*) is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 419, 166).

b. Iranian. Av. *pascaṣ* 'afterward,' Kuhr. *paš*, *pas*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšt*, etc. (see preceding §).

sc > š*k*.

§ 858. The change of *sc* to š*k* is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Phl. *škastanō*, New Pers. *šikastan*, Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*.

sc > *s*(*s*).

§ 859. The assimilation of *sc* to *s*(*s*) is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascaṣ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, etc. (see § 856). Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*, etc. (see preceding §).

st > (k)kh.

§ 860. The change of *st* to (k)kh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Prāk. *khambha*, *thambha*, Pali *thambha*, Uṛ. *khambh(a)*, *kham(ba)*, Bang. *khambā*, Hindi, Panj. *thamb*, Sindhi *thambhu*, Guj. *khāmb*, *khambh*, *thamb*, Mar. *khāmb*, Sinh. *ṭamba*. [See now Pischel, § 306.]

st > ṭ(f).

§ 861. The assimilation of *st* to ṭ(f) is excessively rare (cf. § 224).

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Sinh. *ṭamba*, etc. (see preceding §).

st > ṭ(f).

§ 862. The assimilation of *st* to ṭ(f) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stāinya* 'thief,' Jaina Prāk. *tēṇiya*. Skt. *hyastana* 'yesterday's,' Pali *hiyattana*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pali *hattha*, Ass. *hāt*, *hāth*, Kaśm. *ath* (but *hast* 'elephant'), Uṛ., Bang. *hāta*, Bihārī, Hindi *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhi *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Sinh. *ata*, Gyp. *vast*.

b. Iranian. Lat. *sturnus* 'starling,' Old High German *stāra*, New Pers. *tar*.

st > (f)th.

§ 863. The assimilation of *st* to (f)th is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pustaka* 'book,' Prāk. *pothaa*, Pali *pōthaka*, Kaśm. *pūth*, Uṛ. *pōthā*, Sindhi, Guj., Mar. *pōthi*, Sinh. *pōta*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pali *hattha*, Ass. *hāth*, *hāt*, Kaśm. *ath*, Bihārī, Hindi *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhi *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prastara* 'stone,' Prāk., Pali *patthara*, Uṛ. *pathara*, Bang. *pāthar*, Hindi, Panj. *patthar*, Sindhi *patharu*, Guj., Mar. *patthar*. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Pali *thana*, Uṛ., Bang. *thana*, Hindi *than*, Panj. *than*, Sindhi *thanu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*, Sinh. *tana*.

st > s(s).

§ 864. The assimilation of *st* to s(s) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl. *rāst*, New Pers. *rās*, *rūst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*.

sty > *ṭh*, *th*.

§ 865. The assimilation of *sty* to *ṭh*, *th*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *styāna* 'idleness,' Prāk., Pali *ṭhina*, *thina*.

sth > (k)kh.

§ 866. The change of *sth* to (k)kh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthānu* 'firm, Śiva,' Prāk. *khānu*, *khannu*, 'firm,' *thānu* 'Śiva.' [See now Pischel, § 309.]

sth > *ṭ(ṭ)*.

§ 867. The assimilation of *sth* to *ṭ(ṭ)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Prāk., Pali *aṭṭhi*, Uṛ., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindi *hāḍ*, *hāḍḍi*, Panj. *hāḍḍi*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, Sinh. *aṭa*.

sth > *(ṭ)ṭh*.

§ 868. The assimilation of *sth* to *(ṭ)ṭh* is very rare (cf. § 238).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāna*, *thāna*, Pali *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *than̄i*, Uṛ. *ṭhāṇā*, *thāṇā*, Bang. *thanā*, *thān*, Hindi *ṭhannā*, *thānā*, Panj. *ṭhāṇ*, *thāṇā*, Sindhi *ṭhānu*, *thānu*, Guj. *ṭhāṇ*, *thāṇ*, Mar. *ṭhān*, *thār*, Sinh. *ṭāna*, *tāna*, Gyp. *than*.

sth > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 869. The assimilation of *sth* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Uṛ., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindi *hāḍ*, *hāḍḍi*, Panj. *hāḍḍi*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, etc. (see § 867).

sth > *t(ṭ)*.

§ 870. The assimilation of *sth* to *t(ṭ)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pali *thira*, Uṛ. *thira*, Hindi *ṭhir*, Sinh. *tara*. Skt. *sthālī* 'kettle,' Pali *thālī*, Uṛ., Panj. *thālī*, Guj. *thālā*, Mar. *thālā*, Sinh. *tālī*, Maladive *teli*.

sth > (*t*)*th*.

§ 871. The assimilation of *sth* to (*t*)*th* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects and in North Balūči.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *thāna*, *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *thavi*, Ur. *thānā*, *ṭhānā*, Bang. *thān*, *thānā*, Hindi *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, Panj. *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, *ṭhān*, Sindhi *thānu*, *ṭhānu*, Guj. *thān*, *ṭhān*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Gyp. *than*, etc. (see § 868). Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, Ur. *thira*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Phl., New Pers. *-stān*, N. Bal. *thān*, Kurd. *šūn*.

sth > *st*.

§ 872. The deaspirization of *sth* to *st* is very rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥hastha* 'householder,' Pāli *gahatṭha*, Bihārī *girhast*, Hindi *grihast*, Panj. *g(ə)risati*, Sindhi *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha* (semi-tatsama).

sth > *ṣ(ṣ)*.

§ 873. The assimilation of *sth* to *ṣ(ṣ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Kurd. *šūn*, etc. (see § 871).

sn > *ṇh*.

§ 874. The change of *sn* to *ṇh* is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhānu*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Hindi *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūnā*, Guj. *nahān*, Mar. *nahān*, *nāhanēm*.

sn > *n(n)*.

§ 875. The assimilation of *sn* to *n(n)* occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is more frequent in the latter group.

a. Indian. Skt. *snēha* 'love,' Prāk. *nēha*, *siṇēha*, Apab. Prāk. *nēhu*, Pāli *s(i)ṇēha*, Bihārī *nēh*, Sindhi *nūnhu*, *sanēhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *snaoda* 'cloud,' Bal. *nōd*, N. Bal. *nōd*. Skt. *snuṣar* 'daughter-in-law,' Afy. *nšōr*, Bal. *našār*, Oss. *n(v)ostha*. Av. *snavars* 'bow-string,' Dig. Oss. *navr*, Tag. *navr*.

sn > *nh*.

§ 876. The change of *sn* to *nh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Hindi *nhānā*, Panj. *nlāūñā*, etc. (see § 874).

sp > *p(p)*.

§ 877. The assimilation of *sp* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 293).

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassat*, *vaṇapphat*, Pāli *vanappati*. Skt. *sparsā* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, Ass. \sqrt{pas} , Bang. *sparsā* (pron. *pōrsō*), Hindi, Panj. *paras*, Guj. *pāras*, Mar. *paras*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spərəsa* 'spleen,' Phl. *spārs*, New Pers. *supurs*, Kāš. *aspul*, *aspöl*, Tāt *sūpül*, Kurd. *pişik*.

sp > *(p)ph*.

§ 878. The assimilation of *sp* to *(p)ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparsā* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *spandana* 'throb,' Prāk. *phāmdana*, Pāli *phandana*, Hindi *phāmdanā*, Panj. *phāmdanā*, Mar. *phāmdanēh*.

sp > *s(s)*.

§ 879. The assimilation of *sp* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, it is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassat*, *vaṇapphat*, etc. (see § 877). Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bhassat*, *bhaassat*, *bahappat*, *bhaapphat*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Old Pers. (Median) *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, *aspa*, Phl. *asp*, New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Waxi *yaš*, Minj. *yas(a)p*, Afy. *ās*, Bal. *(h)aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag.

yafs. Skt. *aśvatara* 'mule,' Phl. New Pers. *astar*, Bal. *istal*, N. Bal. *hastal*, Kurd. *istir*, *histir*.

sp > *sp̥h*, *sf*.

§ 880. The aspirization of *sp* to *sp̥h*, *sf*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaospenta* 'holy kine,' Phl. *gōspand*, New Pers. *gōsfand*, *gōspand*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *safed*, *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sūbō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, Afy. *spīn*, Kurd. (i) *spī*.

sp > *sb*.

§ 881. The softening of *sp* to *sb* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Zaf. *sūbō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *span* 'dog,' Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, etc. (see § 879).

sp̥h > (k) *kh*.

§ 882. The assimilation of *sp̥h* to (k) *kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sp̥hōṭaka* 'boil,' Prāk. *khōḍaa*, Pāli *phōṭa*, Ur., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhi *phurḍī*. [So the Prākrit grammarians, falsely. See now Pischel, § 811.]

sp̥h > (p) *ph*.

§ 883. The assimilation of *sp̥h* to (p) *ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sp̥huṭa* 'thrilled,' Prāk. *phuḍa*, Pāli *phuṭa*. Skt. *sp̥hōṭaka* 'boil,' Pāli *phōṭa*, Ur., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhi *phurḍī*.

sm > *m̥h*.

§ 884. The change of *sm* to *m̥h* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *asmi* 'am,' Prāk. *am̥hi*, Pāli *am̥hi*, *asmi*. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Prāk. *vim̥haa*, Pāli *vim̥haya*, Sindhi *visāi*.

sm > *s(s)*.

§ 885. The assimilation of *sm* to *s(s)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Sindhi *visāṭ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *smṛti* 'memory,' Hindi, Panj. *surat*, Sindhi *surti*. Skt. *smarati* 'remembers,' Prāk. *sarat*, *sumarat*, Pali *sarati*, *sumarati*.

sm > *sb*.

§ 886. The change of *sm* to *sb* is excessively rare (cf. § 828).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *asmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Bal. *asmān*, N. Bal. *āsmān*.

sm > *s(s)*.

§ 887. The assimilation of *sm* to *s(s)* is very rare (cf. §§ 325, 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēśma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēśam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēśam*, Gab. *isma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēśam*, Kurd. *hasang*.

sm > *sm*.

§ 888. The softening of *sm* to *sm* is rare (cf. § 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēśma* 'fuel,' Gab. *isma*, etc. (see preceding §).

sm > *šm*.

§ 889. The change of *sm* to *šm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *asman* 'heaven,' N. Bal. *āsmān*, etc. (see § 886).

sy > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 890. The change of *sy* to (*j*)*jh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāṁsya*, *kāṁsa* 'bell-metal,' Prāk. *kāṁsia*, Pali *kāṁsa*, Ur., Bang., Hindi *kāṁsā*, Panj. *kāṁsi*, Sindhi *kāṁjhō*, Guj. *kāṁsum*, Mar. *kāṁsēm* (cf. also Prāk. *tujjha* 'of thee' < Old Ind. **tusya*).

sy > *s(s)*.

§ 891. The assimilation of *sy* to *s(s)* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *syāla* 'brother-in-law,' Pāli *sāla*, Bang. *śāl*, Hindi *sāl*, Panj. *sālā*, Sindhi *salō*, Guj. *salō*, *salō*, Mar. *sālā*, Gyp. *salō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyah*, Waxi *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

sy > *ś(š)*.

§ 892. The assimilation of *sy* to *ś(š)* is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Waxi *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, etc. (see preceding §).

sr > *(k)kh*.

§ 893. The change of *sr* to *(k)kh* is extremely rare (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *sraoni* 'thigh,' Phl. *saruk*, *sarin*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Waxi *šunj*, Šiyn. *šāun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*.

sr > *ls*.

§ 894. The metathesis of *sr* to *ls* is rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *arz*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. *(h)istir*, *asr*.

sr > *s(s)*.

§ 895. The assimilation of *sr* to *s(s)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kāsm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhi *sahasu*. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Prāk. *sotta*, Pāli *sōta*, Sinh. *sō*, *soya*, *(h)oya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusū*, *xusrū*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afy. *x'āša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassū*, *xasrū*.

sr > *sl*.

§ 896. The change of *sr* to *sl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Kāš. *asl*, etc. (see § 894).

sr > *ś(š)*.

§ 897. The assimilation of *sr* to *ś(š)* is rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Afy. *ōša*, etc. (see § 894). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xus(r)ū*, Afy. *xʷāša*, etc. (see § 895).

sr > *h(h)*.

§ 898. The assimilation of *sr* to *h(h)* is rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Sinh. *hoya*, *oya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

Aphaeresis of sr.

§ 899. The loss of initial *sr* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Sinh. *oya*, *hoya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

sv > Iranian *xʷ*, *hv* > *k(k)*.

§ 900. The assimilation of *sv* to *k(k)*, through Iranian *xʷ*, *hv*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷafsata* 'sleep!' Phl. *xʷaftanō*, New Pers. *xuspidan*,¹ Siv. *fatan*, Tāl. *asp*, Waxī *xōfsam*, Šiyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Zaza *knana*.

sv > Iranian *xʷ*, *hv* > *(k)kh*, *x*.

§ 901. The assimilation of *sv* to *(k)kh*, *x*, through Iranian *xʷ*, *hv*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Phl. *xur*, *xʷar*, New Pers. *xur*, Šiyn. *xēr*, Sarq. *xar*, Yidg. *xūr*, Afy. *nmar*, *nvar*, Dig. Oss. *xor*, Tag. *xūr*. Av. *xʷaraiti* 'eats,' Phl. *xʷarʔanō*, New Pers. *xurdan*, Gab. *xartin*, Siv. *fōrdan*, Zaf. *buxōrt*, Kāš. *xōrdamūn*, Vōn. *xūrtan*, Kuhr. *xārdan*, Nāy. *uxūr* 'eat!' Tāl. *bahardēn*, Šiyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *xʷaram*, Minj. *xar*, Yidg. *xūrah*, Afy. *xōral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*. Av. *saxʷārə* 'word,' Phl. *saxʷar*, New Pers. *suxun*, Siv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*.

sv > Iranian *xʷ*, *hv* > *nm*, *nv*.

§ 902. The change of *sv* to *nm*, *nv*, through Iranian *xʷ*, *hv*, is very rare (cf. §§ 904, 929 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Afy. *nmar*, *nvar*, etc. (see preceding §).

sv > Iranian *xʷ*, *hv* > (p)ph, f.

§ 903. The change of *sv* to (p)ph, f, through Iranian *xʷ*, *hv*, is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 904, 971 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷaraiti* 'eats,' Sīv. *fōrdan*, etc. (see § 901). Av. *xʷafsata* 'sleep!' Sīv. *fatan*, etc. (see § 900).

sv > Iranian *xʷ*, *hv* > v(v).

§ 904. The assimilation of *sv* to v(v), through Iranian *xʷ*, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *xʷaš*, *xuš* 'good,' Pāz. *xʷaš*, New Pers. *xuš*, *xōš*, Kāš. *xuš*, *xōš*, Šiyn. *xāiš*, Sarq. *xēx*, Bal. *vaš*, Kurd. *xōš*, Zaza *vaš*. Av. *xʷaraiti* 'eats,' Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, etc. (see § 901).

sv > s(s).

§ 905. The assimilation of *sv* to s(s) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Prāk. *sāmi*, Pāli *sāmi*, *suvaṃsi*, Uṛ., Bang. *sām*, Hindi, Panj. *sām*, Sindhi *sāmīn*, Sinh. *hami*, *himi*. Skt. *bhasvara* 'brilliant,' Pāli *bhassara*. Skt. *svata* 'own,' Hindi *sagā*, Panj. *saggā*, Sindhi *sāgō*, Guj. *saguṃ*, Mar. *sagā*. Skt. *svāṇoga* 'mimicry,' Hindi, Panj. *sāṃg*, Sindhi *sāṃgu*, Guj., Mar. *sōṃg*.

sv > h(h), and *sv* > Iranian *xʷ*, *hv* > h(h).

§ 906. The assimilation of *sv* to h(h) is very rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Sinh. *hami*, *himi*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷaraiti* 'eats,' Tāl. *bahardēn*, etc. (see § 901). Av. *xʷāda* 'sweat,' Phl. *xʷai*, *xʷēdē*, New Pers. *xʷai*, Waxī *xil*, Sarq. *xaiḍ*, Afy. *xʷalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēd*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

Aphaeresis of sv > Iranian x^v, hv.

§ 907. The loss of initial *sv* through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^vafsa^ta* 'sleep!' Tal. *asp*, etc. (see § 900).

šk > d(c).

§ 908. The assimilation of *šk* to *d(c)* is rare (cf. §§ 424, 118).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl. New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Waxī *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*.

šk > s(s).

§ 909. The assimilation of *šk* to *s(s)* is extremely rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Oss. *xus*, *xusk*, etc. (see preceding §).

šk > sk.

§ 910. The change of *šk* to *sk* is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Waxī *vask*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*, etc. (see § 908).

šk > š(š).

§ 911. The assimilation of *šk* to *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'cat,' Gīl. *pīcā*, Waxī *piš*, Šīyn. *paš*, Afy. *pišō*, Bal. *pāšt*, *pišt*, Kurd. *pīštik*.

šk > šc.

§ 912. The change of *šk* to *šc* is very rare (cf. § 118).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'sheep-droppings,' Waxī *pōšk* Šīyn. *pašc*, Afy. *paca*.

št > kht, xt.

§ 913. The change of *št* to *kht*, *xt*, is rare (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Sīv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šīyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*.

št > khs, xs.

§ 914. The change of *št* to *khs, xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Waxi *haθ, hāt*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *urs*, Afy. *ata*, Oss. *asth*.

št > t(f).

§ 915. The assimilation of *št* to *t(f)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Waxi *hāt, haθ*, Sangl. *hāt*, Afy. *ata*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Sangl. *ingit*, Afy. *gūta*, etc. (see § 913).

št > (f)th.

§ 916. The assimilation of *št* to *(f)th* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Waxi *hāt, haθ*, etc. (see § 914).

št > l(l).

§ 917. The assimilation of *št* to *l(l)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 426).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Waxi *yangl*, etc. (see § 913).

št > s(s).

§ 918. The assimilation of *št* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Siv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, etc. (see § 913).

št > šk.

§ 919. The change of *št* to *šk* is very rare (cf. § 222 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Minj. *aška*, etc. (see § 914).

šty > št.

§ 920. The assimilation of *šty* to *št* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl. New Pers. *xīšt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*.

śn > khn, xn.

§ 921. The change of *śn* to *khn, xn*, is very rare (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Phl. *pāšnak*, New Pers. *pāš-nah*, Waxī *pāšnah*, Sarq. *puznā*, Afy. *pūnda*, Bal. *pūmsig*, *pūns*, N. Bal. *phīs*, *phīd*, Kurd. *pānī*.

śn > d(d), nd.

§ 922. The change of *śn* to *d(d), nd*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Afy. *pūnda*, N. Bal. *phīd*, *phīs*, etc. (see preceding §).

śn > n(n).

§ 923. The assimilation of *śn* to *n(n)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Kurd. *pānī*, etc. (see § 921).

śn > s(s), ns.

§ 924. The assimilation of *śn* to *s(s), ns*, is rare (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Bal. *pūmsig*, *pūns*, N. Bal. *phīs*, *phīd*, etc. (see § 921).

śm > m(m).

§ 925. The assimilation of *śm* to *m(m)* is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl. New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Siv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš, Vōn. *cam*, Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Māz. *cas*, Gīl. *ciš*, Waxī *cōšm*, Šiyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*.

śm > v(v).

§ 926. The assimilation of *śm* to *v(v)* is rare (cf. § 324).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Kurd. *cāv*, etc. (see preceding §).

sm > *sm*.

§ 927. The change of *sm* to *sm* is very rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *yusmākam* 'of you,' Pāz., New Pers. *sumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smar*, Tag. *sumar*.

sm > *š(š)*.

§ 928. The assimilation of *sm* to *š(š)* is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Sīv., Zaf., Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Gil. *ciš*, etc. (see § 925).

sm > *šm*.

§ 929. The softening of *sm* to *šm* occurs but seldom (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Waxī *cāšm*, etc. (see § 925).

sy > *c(c)*, *č(č)*.

§ 930. The assimilation of *sy* to *c(c)*, *č(č)*, is very rare (cf. § 424).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Waxī *cauam*, Šiyn. *višafcam*, Sarq. *vašavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuda*, Kurd. *čan*, Oss. *čauu*.

sy > *š(š)*.

§ 931. The assimilation of *sy* to *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuda*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *šaiti* 'peace,' Old Pers. *šiyāti*, Phl. *sāṭ(ih)*, New Pers. *šād*, Oss. *ančad*.

sy > *š(š)*.

§ 932. The softening of *sy* to *š(š)* is very rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, Šiyn. *višafcam*, Sarq. *vašavsam*, etc. (see § 930).

sg > *šg*.

§ 933. The change of *sg* to *šg* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *masga* 'marrow,' Phl. *masg*, New Pers. *mayz*, Sarq. *muṭg*, Afy. *māyza*, Bal. *maṭg*, Oss. *mayz*.

sd > *s(s)*.

§ 934. The assimilation of *sd* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *nasda* 'near,' Phl. *nasdtk*, New Pers. *nas-d(ih)*, Sarq. *nisd*, Afy. *nisdē*, *nikdē*, Bal. *nasik*, N. Bal. *nas(x)*, Kurd. *nisūk*, *nēsik*.

sr > *dr*.

§ 935. The change of *sr* to *dr* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ṣrayah* 'sea,' Old Pers. *ḍrayah*, Phl. *ḍrayak*, *srē*, New Pers. *daryā*, *ṣarāh*, *sirih*, Tat *dairuh*, Bal. *sirā*.

sv > *sm*.

§ 936. The change of *sv* to *sm* is very rare (cf. § 374).

b. Iranian. Av. *hisva* 'tongue,' Phl. (h)*usvān*, *svān*, New Pers. *ṣabān*, *ṣubān*, Gab. *isvān*, Waxi *sik*, Šiyn. *ṣav*, Sarq. *siv*, Afy. *ḥiba*, Bal. *simān*, Kurd. *asmān*, Oss. *awsag*.

sb > *ḥb*.

§ 937. The change of *sb* to *ḥb* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *hisva* 'tongue,' Afy. *ḥiba*, etc. (see preceding §).

ḥd > *s(s)*.

§ 938. The assimilation of *ḥd* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *duḥdah* 'wretched,' Phl., Pāz. *duḥd* 'thief,' New Pers. *dusd*, Gab. *dus*, Tal. *dis*, Bal. *dus*.

ḥd > *sd*.

§ 939. The change of *ḥd* to *sd* is quite common in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *dušdah* 'wretched,' New Pers. *dušd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *mišda* 'reward,' Phl. *mušd*, Pāz. *mošd*, New Pers. *mušd*, *mušd*, Kurd., Osa. *mišd*.

$hn > nh$.

§ 940. The metathesis of hn to nh is very rare (cf. § 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Prāk. *vañhi*, Sindhi *bañhi*.

$hn > n(n)$.

§ 941. The assimilation of hn to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *ciñha*, *cindha*, Nāip. *ciñnu*, Uṛ., Bang. *cinha*, Bihārī *cīn*, *cinaha*, Hindi *cihna*, Panj. *cihan*, Sindhi *cihanu*, Guj., Mar. *ciñha*.

$hn > ndh$.

§ 942. The change of hn to ndh is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *cindha*, *ciñha*, etc. (see preceding §).

$hn > h(h)$.

§ 943. The assimilation of hn to $h(h)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Sindhi *bañhi*, etc. (see § 940).

$hm > m(m)$.

§ 944. The assimilation of hm to $m(m)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bamhaṇa*, (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhi *bāmbhaṇu*, Sinh. *bamba*.

$hm > mb$.

§ 945. The change of hm to mb is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Sinh. *bamba*, etc. (see preceding §).

hm > *mbh*.

§ 946. The change of *hm* to *mbh* is rare (cf. § 449).

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Sindhi *ḥāmbhaṇu*, etc. (see § 944).

hy > *j(j)*.

§ 947. The assimilation of *hy* to *j(j)* is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhi *ḡujhō*, Guj. *guj*, Mar. *gūj*.

hy > *(j)jh*.

§ 948. The assimilation of *hy* to *(j)jh* is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nahyati* 'binds,' Prāk. *najjhat*. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhi *ḡujhō*, etc. (see preceding §).

hv > *(b)bh*.

§ 949. The assimilation of *hv* to *(b)bh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jibbhā*, *jihā*, Pali *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kāsm. *sēo*, other New Ind. dialects *jibh*, excepting Sindhi *jibh*, Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *gahvara* 'cavern,' Pali *gabbhara*. Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vebbhala*, *vihala*, Hindi *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

hv > *v(v)*.

§ 950. The assimilation of *hv* to *v(v)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Sinh. *diva*, etc. (see preceding §).

hv > *h(h)*.

§ 951. The assimilation of *hv* to *h(h)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jihā*, *jibbhā*, etc. (see § 949). Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vihala*, *vebbhala*, Hindi *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

Syncope of hv.

§ 952. The loss of internal *hv* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kāśm. *æo*, Malādivē *dā*, etc. (see § 949).

Anusvāra and Anunāsika.

§ 953. In the Middle Indian dialects the anusvāra, a purely nasal sound, has been almost entirely lost, and has vanished altogether in the New Indian dialects. On the other hand the anunāsika, or nasalization of a vowel sound, became more and more frequent during the Middle and New Indian periods, until it now completely supersedes the anusvāra. Anunāsika may stand before *h* or *s*, and is interchangeable with the class-nasal in all *vargas* in the New Indian dialects. Final anusvāra becomes anunāsika in the transition from Middle to New Indian, and such an anunāsika is retained unchanged after long vowels in Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, although they elide it after a short vowel. In the other New Indian dialects final anunāsika is lost under all circumstances. Avestan *q* possesses a certain resemblance to Indian anunāsika.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *siha*, Hindi, Panj. *siṃgh*, Sindhī *siṃghō*, *siṃhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh* (pron. *siṃgh*). Skt., Prāk. *hamsa* 'goose,' E. Hindi *hams*, *hans*. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṃkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikri*, Uṛ. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindi *siṃkar*, *sikar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindi *sikar*, *sikhar*, *sikal*, Panj. *saṃghar*, Sindhī *saṃgharō*, Guj. *saṃghal*, Mar. *saṃkhal*, *sākhāl*, *sikri*. Skt. *kuṅcika* 'key,' Kāśm. *kuṅs*, Uṛ. *kumcī*, *kumjhi*, *kuji*, Bang. *kumjī*, *kūjī*, Hindi, Panj. *kumjī*, Sindhī *kuṅjī*, Guj. *kumcī*, Mar. *kumjī*. Skt. *śaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sānr*, Bang. *ṣānr*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sānr*, Panj. *sāṃḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sāmh*, *saṇḍha*, Guj., Mar. *sāṃḍ*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pāli *khaṇḍha*, Ass. *kāṃd(h)*, Uṛ., Bang. *kāṃdh*, Bihārī *kāṃdhā*, *khaṃdhā*, Hindi *kāṃdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kannh*, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *khaṃdō*, Mar. *khaṃdā*, Simh. *kanda*. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk.

kampai, *kampai*, Pali *kampati*, Ass. *kāmp*, Kāśm. *kaṃ(p)*, Hindi *kāmp*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhi *kamb*, Guj., Mar. *kāmp*. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk. *daṇīm*, *dāni*. Skt. *dadhi* 'curds,' Prāk. *dahīm*, E. Hindi, Hindi *dahi*, Panj. *dahīm*, Sindhi *ḍahīm*, Guj., Mar. *dahīm*.

Visarga.

§ 954. The Old Indian visarga is entirely lost in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the few instances in which *ḥ* appears in script in New Indian it is employed under learned influence, and is not pronounced.

a. Indian. Skt. *duḥkha* 'misery,' Hindi *duḥkh* (pron. *dukh*), *dukh*. Skt. *antaḥkaraṇa* 'heart,' Hindi *antaḥkaraṇ* (pron. *ant(a)karan*). Skt. *niḥśvāsa* 'sigh,' Hindi *niḥsvās* (pron. *nivās*), *nivās*.

Metathesis.

§ 955. Metathesis occurs very frequently in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, especially when one of the consonants involved is a liquid or a sibilant. Although transposition of individual consonants is the more usual case, instances of the metathesis of entire syllables are not lacking.

a. Indian. Skt. *hrada* 'sea,' Jaina Prāk. *draha*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *daha*. Skt. *ālāna* 'elephant's tie-post,' Prāk. *āṇāla*. Skt. *laghuka* 'light,' Prāk. *halua*, *lahua*, Pali *lahuka*, Uṛ., Bang. *halkā*, E. Hindi *haluk*, Hindi *halakā*, Sindhi *halkō*, Guj. *halakum*, Mar. *halakā*. Skt. *sakaṭa* 'stupid,' Pali *kaṣaṭa*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pali *gadṛabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindi *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhi *garahu*, Guj. *gadheḍō*, Mar. *gaḍhav*. Skt. *kṣepaṇa* 'toss,' Prāk. *khēpa*, Uṛ. *phimḡibā*, *pa-kāibā*, Hindi, Panj. *phēmknā*, Sindhi *phakanu*, Guj. *phēmknā*, Mar. *phēmknēm*. Skt. *vruḍati* 'sinks,' Prāk. *buddat*, Uṛ., Bang. *buḍ*, Hindi *būḍ*, Sindhi *ḅuḍ*, Guj., Mar. *buḍ* beside Uṛ., Bang. *dubnā*, Panj. *ḍubbanā*, Sindhi *ḍubanu*, Guj., Mar. *dubaṇu*.

Skt. *paridhiyate* 'is clothed,' Apab. Prāk. *parihai*, Kāśm. *prāv*, Uṛ. *pahar*, Bang., E. Hindi, Hindi *pahir*, Guj. *pēr*, cf. also Mar. *pēraṇ*, *pehraṇ* 'shirt.' Skt. *biḍāla* 'cat,' Apab. Prāk. *viḍlu*, Nāip. *birālu*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bīlar*, Guj. *bīlaḍī*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pāli *samudda*, Sinh. **hamuda* > **mahuda* > *muhuda*. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ṇēura*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Uṛ. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhi *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*, Sinh. *nuruva*. Skt. *śayana* 'bed,' Prāk. *sayana*, Pāli *sayana*, *sēna*, Sinh. *yahana*.

An instance of vowel-metathesis seems to be found in Skt. *pīcumanda* 'nimba-tree,' Pāli *pucimanda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *suzra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuzra*, Phl. *suzr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šir. *strah*, Siv. *sir*, Yazdi *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Waxi *sōkr*, Šiy. *sirah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surrx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš. *Māz*, Gil., Sarq. *varf*, Minj. *varfah*, Yidg. *varfuh*, Yayn. *vafir*, Afy. *vāvra*, Kurd. *bafr*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxi *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunt*, Kurd. *tā*, *tani*. Old Pers. *bāztri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, *baxl*, New Pers. *balx*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. *asr*, (*h*)*istir*. Av. *karana* 'boundary,' Phl. *kanār*, New Pers. *karān*, *kanār*, Oss. *kharon*. Av. *maēga* 'marrow,' Phl. *maēg*, New Pers. *mayz*, Sarq. *muēg*, Afy. *māyza*, Bal. *maēg*, Oss. *mayz*. Av. *vitasti* 'span,' Phl. *vitast*, New Pers. *bidast*, *gidast*, Afy. *vlišť*, *vlēšť*, *lvīšť*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*. Av. *fšu* 'cattle,' Afy. *špa*, *špūn*. Av. *srva* 'horn,' Phl. *srūb*, *sruw*, New Pers. *sarū(n)*, *surū*, Bal. *srumbē*, *surum*, Kurd. *savr* 'stag.' Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθra*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Waxi *pōtr*, Šiyn. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Minj. *pār*, Yayn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusaγ*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *fīrth*. Av. *aura* 'cloud,' Oss. *arw*.

Assimilation of syllables.

§ 956. The assimilation of syllables is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pāli *nērañjara*. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Kāśm. *namāmamath*, Bang. *nivānavat*, Bihārī, Hindi *ninānavē*, *niyānavē*, Panj. *naḍīnāvē*, Sindhi *nadhānavē*, *vadhānavē*, *navānavē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvācdah*, Afy. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Phl. *āninak* (read *āvinak*?) 'mirror,' New Pers. *ayīnah*, Bal. *ādēn(k)*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

Dissimilation of syllables.

§ 957. Dissimilation of syllables is found occasionally, although the phenomenon is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Sinh. *takul*. Skt. *jalukika* 'leech,' Pāli *jalūpika*, *jaluka*. Skt. *dadrūghna* 'remedy for leprosy,' Pāli *gaddūhana*. Skt. *pipilika* 'ant,' Pāli *kipillika*, *pipilika*.

Loss of syllables.

§ 958. The loss of entire syllables is found quite frequently both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *astamayana* 'sunset,' Prāk. *atthamaṇa*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Prāk. *aḍa*, Sinh. *vaḷa*. Skt. *durgādēvi* 'wife of Śiva,' Prāk. *duggāvi*. Skt. *devakula* 'temple,' Prāk. *deula*, *devaula*, *devakula*, Uṛ. *deula*, Bang., Hindi *deval*, Panj. *devālā*, Sindhi *devili*, Guj. *deval*, Mar. *deul*. Skt. *dvādaśa* 'twelve,' Prāk. *vāraha*, Pāli *dvādasa*, *bārasa*, Kāśm. *bāh*, Uṛ. *bāra*, Bang. *vārō*, Bihārī, Hindi *bārah*, W. Hindi *bārā*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhi *bārahām*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*. Skt. *śithila* 'slack,' Prāk. *siḍhila*, *saḍhila*, Māg. Prāk. *ḍhilla*, Pāli *sithila*, *saḥhila*, Ass.

ḡhil, Naip. *ḡhilō*, Uṛ. *ḡhīla*, Bang. *ḡhīl*, Bihārī *ḡhīla*, E. Hindi *ḡhal*, Hindi *ḡhīlā*, Panj. *ḡhilla*, Sindhi *ḡhilō*, *ḡhirō*, *ḡharō*, Guj. *ḡhīlum*, Mar. *ḡhīla*, *ḡhīl*, *saḡhal*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prāk. *visat*, Pali *visati*, *visa*, Kāśm. *vuh*, Bang. *viś*, Bihārī, Hindi *bis*, Panj., Sindhi *viḥ*, Guj., Mar. *vis*. Skt. *anurūpa* 'parable,' Prāk. *anurūpa*, Pali *anurūpa*, Sinh. *nuru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'mouth-veil,' Pahl. *padām*, New Pers. *panōm*, *panām*. Av. *θrisata* 'thirty,' Phl. *sih*, Pāz. *sih*, New Pers. *sī*, Afy. *dērk*. Av. *antaro* 'within,' Old Pers. *qtar*, Phl. *andar*, New Pers. *dar*, *andar*. Old Pers. **duvitiyām karam* 'for the second time,' Phl. *daṡigar*, Pāz. *dadigar*, New Pers. *ḡigar*, *dadigar*, N. Bal. *thū(h)*, Kurd. *ditar*, *dītra*. Av. *hiṣu* 'tongue,' Old Pers. *(h)isāva*, Phl. *(h)usvān*, *suwān*, *savān*, New Pers. *subān*, *subān*, Gab. *isvūn*, Waxī *sik*, Šīyn. *sav*, Sarq. *siv*, Afy. *kiba*, Kurd. *asmān*, Tag. Oss. *awsag*. Av. *angūšta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angūšt*, Siv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šīyn. *angāšt*, Sarq. *ingart*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*.

Contraction.

§ 959. Contraction of vowels frequently results from the syncope of an intervocalic consonant in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In the latter group there was no objection to hiatus, although *y* or, more rarely, *v* was occasionally inserted to prevent the contact of two vowels (see §§ 122, 123, 137, 138, 143, 144, 164, 183, 184, 229, 232, 242, 256, 260, 270, 272, 292, 307, and consult §§ 341-348, 379-394). Hiatus in the New Indian dialects is not as frequent as in Middle Indian. The Middle and New Iranian dialects afford comparatively few examples of vowel-contraction.

The principal contractions in the New Indian dialects are as follows:

$\check{a} + \check{a} > \check{a}$; $a + \check{i} > \check{a}i$; $a + \check{u} > \check{a}u$; $\check{i} + \check{i} > \check{i}$; $i + a > \check{e}$; $\check{u} + \check{u} > \check{u}$;

$u + a > \bar{o}$, but $\bar{a} + \check{z}$, $\bar{a} + \check{u}$, $\bar{u} + a$, $\check{u} + \check{z}$, and \bar{e} or \bar{o} + long vowel ordinarily remain in hiatus.

a. Indian. Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pali *cammakāra*, Ur. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindi, Panj. *camār*, Sindhi *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cāmhar*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahinī*, *bhatnī*, Pali *bhaginī*, Ur. *bhāunī*, *bhatnī*, Bang. *batn*, Hindi *bahin*, Panj. *bhāin*, *bāimh*, Sindhi *bhenu*, Guj. *bēhen*, Mar. *bahin*, *bhāin*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caūttha*, *caūtṭha*, *cottha*, Ur. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindi, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāumthā*. Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viana*, Hindi *bēnā*. Skt. *rājakula* 'palace,' Prāk. *rāula*, *rāaula*, *lāula*, Pali *rājakula*, Bihārī *rāur*, Hindi *rāul*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *nhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śāk. Prāk. *nābida*, Bihārī, Mar. *nāū*, other New Indian dialects *nāi*. Skt. *nikāṣa* 'near,' Māg. Prāk. *niāḍa*, Pali *nikāṣa*, Bihārī *niyar*, *nēr*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'twofold,' Prāk. *duūṇa*, Pali *diguṇa*, Hindi, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhi *ḍaṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *sugandha* 'fragrant,' Prāk. *suamḍha*, Pali *sugandha*, Hindi, Panj. *sāumdhā*. Skt., Pali *rōdana* 'lament,' Bang. *rōitē*, Hindi *rōnā*, Panj. *rōṇā*, Sindhi *ruanu*, Guj. *rōvūm*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk., Pali *kōila*, Ur. *kōyila*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkil*, Anglo-Ind. *koil*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pali *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gahūm*, Ur. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindi *gō(m)hum*, *gēmhum*, *ghēmūm*, Panj. *ghēmūm*, Sindhi *gēhum*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēv*, *nēvak(īh)*, New Pers. *nēk*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *adairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *asēr*, Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *sēr*, Siv. *šī*, Zaf. *šēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *sēr*, Kurd. *siv*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *vidu*, *vidava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vigā*, *vīē*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *iday*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *royan*, Kurd. *rōn*. Av. **databara* 'judge' (cf. the Aramaean loan-word דַּתְבָּרָא, Dan. iii. 2), Phl. *dātvar*, *dātbar*, *dāvar*, New Pers. *dāvar*.

Epenthesis of vowels.

§ 960. The insertion of vowels in a consonant-group to obviate a succession of consonants is extremely frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The phenomenon occurs somewhat more often in the latter system of dialects on account of their tendency toward assimilation rather than retention of consonant-groups (see § 460). In the Middle and New Indian dialects the vowel most commonly inserted to break up a consonant-group is *a*. Epenthetic *i*, which is comparatively rare, is found chiefly in Panjabi and Sindhi, while epenthetic *u* seems to be hardly found except in the eastern dialects (cf. §§ 3, 4). The three vowels *a*, *i*, and *u* are all used in the Middle and New Iranian dialects. Of these *a* is generally preferred, but if the consonant-group contains a sibilant, *i* is regularly inserted, while *u* is employed when the group includes a labial sound. The usage is, however, very capricious, and it seems scarcely possible to lay down exact rules.

The epenthesis of long vowels occurs with extreme rarity in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, Uṛ. *khamḍa*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindi *kharag*, *khāg*, *khāmḍ*, *ṣagg*, Sindhi *khanō*, Guj. *khārūn*, Mar. *khāmā*, *khadga*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindi *dād*, Sindhi *ḍāḍh(r)u*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dadaḍ*, *dād*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suja*, *sūria*, Pāli *sūriya*, Hindi, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhi *sūriju*, *sūrju*, Guj. *sūraj*, *sūr*, Sinh. (h)*iru*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhānu*, Pāis. Prāk. *sanāna*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Bihārī *nahān*, Hindi *nhānā*, Panj. *nhātūnā*, Guj., Mar. *nahān*. Skt. *śleṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *simbha*, Pāli *silēsuma*, *sēmha*, Sinh. *sem(a)*. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, Pāli (ag)*gini*, *aggi*, Uṛ. *ṇia*, Bang. *agun*, Hindi *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhi *ājī*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Sinh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *ślāgha* 'praise,' Prāk. *salāhā*, Pāli *silāghā*, Bihārī, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *sarāhnā*. Skt. *ratna* 'jewel,' Prāk. *rayana*, Śaur. Prāk. *radaṇa*, Pāli, Gāthā *ratana*, Hindi *ratān*, Sindhi *ratānu*, *ratnu*, Sinh. *ruvan*. Skt. *mlāyati* 'withers,' Prāk. *milat*, Pāli *milāyati*,

Hindī *milnā*, Sindhī *milanu*. Skt. *klēsa* 'trouble,' Hindī *kālēs*, *klēs*, Panj. *kālēs*, Sindhī *kīlēsu*, Mar. *kīlē*, *kīlōs*. Skt. *stṛī* 'woman,' Prāk., Pali *itthī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istṛī*, Uṛ. *tīrī*, vulgar Uṛ. *tiḷa*, colloquial Hindī *istṛī*, *astṛī*, Panj. *tirayā*, Sindhī *tiriya*, *istṛī*, Eḷu *itiri*, Sinh. *istṛī*. Skt. *smaraṇa* 'recollection,' Apab. Prāk. *sumaraṇu*, Bihārī *sumiran*, *sumaran*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxi *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *snāka*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl. New Pers. *rōšan*, Šiyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afy. *rūn*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnai*, *rūnā(h)i*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsād*, cf. Anglo-Ind. *sepoy*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smaz*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *taozman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *toxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxi *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afy. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarīn*, *sarāk*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Wāxi *šunj*, Šiyn. *šaun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*. Av. *xraosōišt* 'should scream,' Phl. *xrōs* 'cock,' New Pers. *xurōs*, Gab. *urus*, Bal. *kurus*, *krōs*, Kurd. *korōs*. Av. *θrayō* 'three,' Pāz. *sē*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Wāxi *trui*, Šiyn. *arraī*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yayn. *θarai*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*. Av. *brvašt* 'brow,' Phl. *brā*, New Pers. *abrā*, Gab. *burā*, Wāxi *varao*, Šiyn. *vruy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Afy. *vraja*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burā*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *darōy*, *durōy*, Māz. *darā*, *durā*, Tāl. *dā*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *darōg*, *drōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*. Av. *mərəōyu* 'death,' Oss. *malath*. Av. *maṭ-paitifrasa* 'with response,' Phl. *pātfrās*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfarah*, *pādāfarah*.

Final Syllables.

§ 961. During the transition from the Old Indo-Iranian dialects to the New, original final syllables have been almost completely lost. Final single consonants of the Old Indo-Iranian dialects have thus disappeared for the most part, and the same fate has met the old short final vowels, while long final vowels have either been shortened or else lost altogether. Complete discussion of these problems, however, belongs rather to inflection than to phonology, but numerous examples of reduction and loss in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects of final syllables existing in the Old Indo-Iranian languages may be gathered from almost every page of this work.

Sandhi.

§ 962. The elaborate system of sandhi found in Sanskrit, and the less artificial conditions observable both in Avestan and Old Persian, ceased to exist in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although certain traces are still found in Middle Indian (Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 156-175, 353, Childers, *JRAS.*, N.S. xi. (1879), 99-121, Müller, *Pāli-Gramm.*, 59-64, Frankfurter, *Handb. of Pāli*, 21-25) and possibly in the Pamir dialects of the New Iranian (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i b, 307-308). In the New Indian dialects, however, as in the Middle and New Iranian dialects (excepting the Pamir group) sandhi is concerned entirely with word-composition. It does not, therefore, strictly form part of a discussion of the comparative phonology of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

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 th̄ < c 160, ch̄ 175, = th̄ 199, < t̄
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 (t̄)th̄ < tr̄ 570, ddh̄ 603, rth̄ 740, st̄
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 dh̄ < t̄ 193, th̄ 202, th̄ 239, dh̄ 266,
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 (d̄)dh̄ < ddh̄ 604, dr̄ 611, rd̄ 744,
 rdh̄ 750, rs̄ 777, st̄ 827, str̄ 831,
 sth̄ 837.
 n̄ < n̄ 277.
 (n̄)n̄ < kn̄ 492, jh̄ 519, nc̄ 533, nȳ
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 ntr̄ < ntr̄ 637.
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 ndr̄ < ntr̄ 638, ndr̄ 648.
 ndh̄ < nth̄ 545.
 nh̄ < sn̄ 840, sn̄ 874, hn̄ 940.
 t̄ < k̄ 119, c̄ 161, ch̄ 176, t̄ 194,
 = t̄ 220, < th̄ 240, d̄ 252, dh̄ 267,
 s̄ 413.
 (t̄)t̄ < kt̄ 464, gdh̄ 495, tm̄ 561, tȳ
 565, tr̄ 572, tv̄ 581, nt̄ 632, nth̄
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 tr̄ < rk̄ 716.
 th̄ < c̄ 162, t̄ 227, = th̄ 237, < d̄
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 (t̄)th̄ < kth̄ 469, nt̄ 633, ndh̄ 652,
 rth̄ 741, st̄ 863, stȳ 865, sth̄ 871,
 st̄ 916.
 θ̄ < c̄ 162, t̄ 227, s̄ 414.
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 (d̄)d̄ < gdh̄ 496, jv̄ 526, tv̄ 582, dȳ
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 dhr̄ 627, dhv̄ 630, nt̄ 634, nth̄ 645,
 ndh̄ 653, pt̄ 667, bd̄ 694, rt̄ 733,
 rd̄ 745, sn̄ 922.
 dr̄ < tr̄ 573.
 dh̄ < th̄ 241, d̄ 254, = dh̄ 264.
 (d̄)dh̄ < gdh̄ 497, dhȳ 621, dhr̄ 628,
 dhv̄ 631, pt̄ 668, bdh̄ 695, rd̄ 746,
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nd < *nḡ* 547, *nt* 635, *nḡh* 646, *nḡr* 649, *nḡh* 654, *śn* 922.
ndh < *nḡh* 647, *hn* 942.
(n)nh < *nḡh* 656.
nm < *dm* 606, *sv* 902.
nv < *sv* 902.
nh < *ṣn* 842, *sn* 876.
p < *k* 120, *ḡ* 195, = *p* 287, < *ph* 296, *b* 304.
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pt < *tm* 562.
ps < *fs* 690.
ph < *p* 289, = *ph* 295.
(p)ph < *sp* 845, *sp* 878, *spḡ* 883, *sv* 903.
f < *p* 289, *bḡ* 313, *m* 322, *v* 371, *h* 448.
f(f) < *tv* 584, *pn* 676, *sv* 903.
fi < *kt* 465, *pt* 669.
fiḡ < *pt* 670.
fr < *tr* 574.
b < *n* 278, *p* 290, *ph* 297, = *b* 303, < *bḡ* 314, *m* 323, *y* 332, *v* 372.
b(b) < *ju* 527, *tv* 585, *dv* 617, *pt* 671, *bḡ* 693, *br* 696, *bḡr* 698, *mb* 704, *rḡ* 759, *rv* 768, *lv* 805, *vy* 807.
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bs < *ps* 685.
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mbḡ < *hm* 946.
mv < *m* 327.
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ri < *r* 72.
ru < *r* 75.
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B. Iranian.

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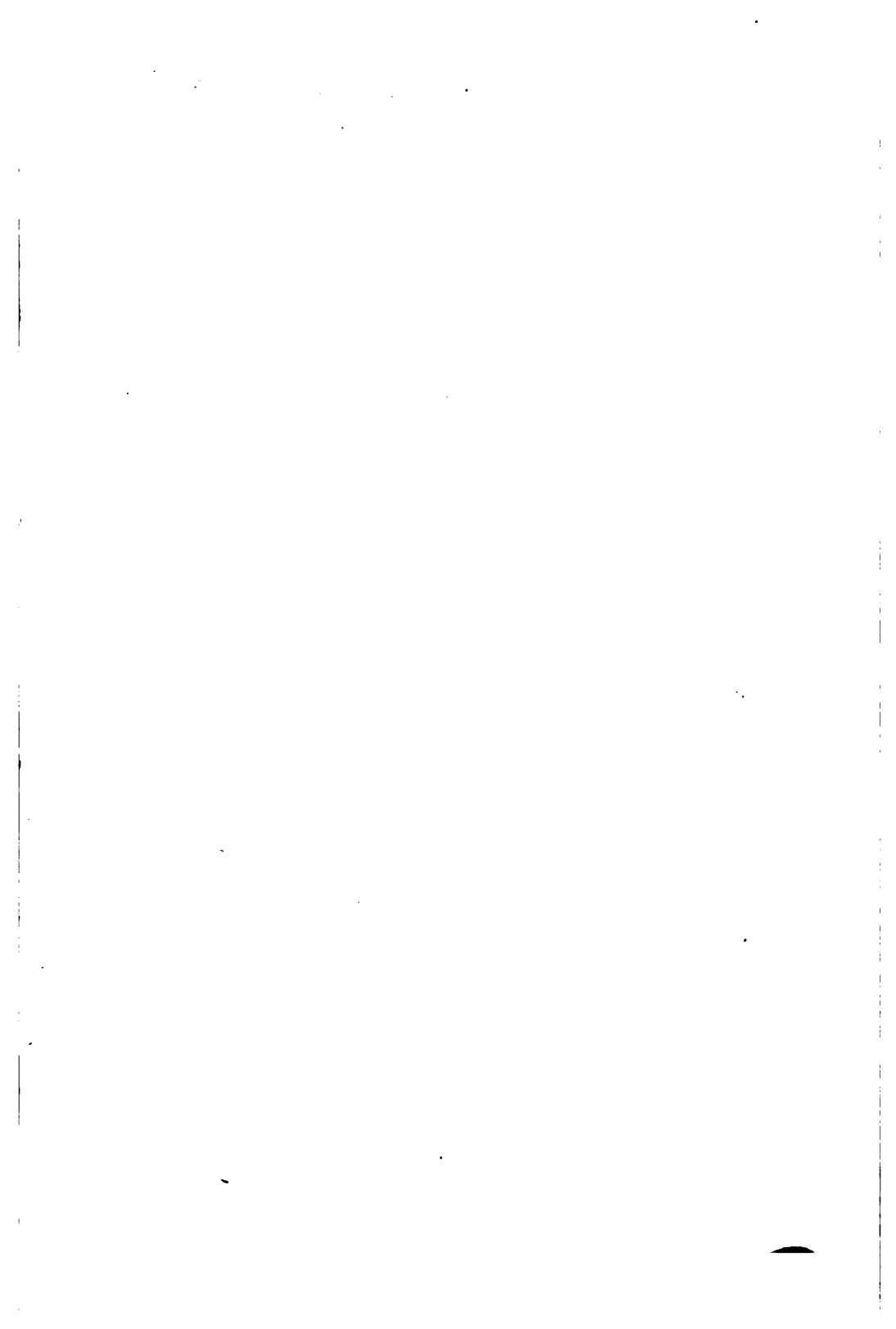
lėsiù 358.*vapsà* 329, 685, 686.

CORRIGENDA

- § 2, l. 10, § 5, l. 45, § 458, l. 12-13, § 879, l. 10 omit Old Pers. *as(p)a*.
 4, l. 12 for *manuša* read *mānuša*.
 4, l. 14 for *karkaṭika* read *karkaṭika*.
 4, l. 24 for *vanā* read *vana*.
 5, l. 46 for *paṣcaṭ* read *pascaṭ*.
 16, l. 12 for *upasthāpitva* read *upasthāpitva*.
 68, l. 18, § 82, l. 15 for *prḍaku* read *prḍaku*.
 71, l. 8 for *mṛḍawka* read *mṛḍawka*.
 79, l. 5 for *mṛṣavādin* read *mṛṣavādin*.
 82, l. 20 for *mṛtika* read *mṛtika*.
 87, l. 14 for 'green' read 'blue'.
 91, l. 2 for *x'aēda* read *x'aēda*.
 115, l. 21 for *niyaka* read *nyāka*.
 133, l. 3 for *rēkha* read *rēkha*.
 167, l. 5, § 168, l. 5 for *raucah* read *raocah*.
 184, l. 5 for *rājanah* read *rājanah*.
 207, heading, l. 1 for *hr* read *hr*.
 329, l. 19 for *vapsa* read *vapsa*.
 337, l. 2, § 378, l. 2 for *chāya* read *chāya*.
 339, l. 7 for *dēvalaya* read *dēvalaya*.
 342, l. 11-12 omit Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Sinh. *maṇṇiyam*.
 372, l. 5, § 373, l. 4 for *vaspa* read *vāspa*.
 374, l. 12, § 784, l. 4 for *vartikā* read *vartakā*.
 396, l. 10, § 401, l. 12 for *śīrsa*, *śīrsa* read *śīrsa*.
 396, l. 6 for 'once' read 'excrement'.
 423, l. 3, § 424, l. 3, § 427, l. 2 for *śavaiti* read *śavaiti*.
 458, l. 4 for *idānim* read *idānim*.
 459, l. 5 for *jyā* read *jyā*.
 464, l. 6 for *mukta* read *mukta*.
 472, l. 3 for *taoxmān* read *taoxman*.
 486, l. 4 for *kṣtyate* read *kṣtyatē*.
 496, l. 5 for *dogdhum* read *dōgdhum*.
 562, l. 1 for assimilation read change.
 612, l. 5 for *drākṣa* read *drākṣa*.

Read throughout *Āvanti*, *Waxi* for *Avantika*, *Waxi*.





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